MAKING RUSSIANS

Meaning and Practice of Russification in Lithuania and Belarus after 1863



Darius Staliūnas

On the Boundary of Two Worlds
Identity, Freedom, and Moral Imagination in the Baltics

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Rodopi

Amsterdam - New York, NY 2007

Publication of this book was made possible, in part, by a grant from the Commission for the Advancement of the Traditions and Heritage of Lithuanian Studies.

The paper on which this book is printed meets the requirements of "ISO 9706:1994, Information and documentation - Paper for documents - Requirements for permanence".

ISBN: 978-90-420-2267-6

Printed in the Netherlands

To my Parents

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Acknowledgements

Many individuals and institutions have helped me in the course of my researching and writing this study. It would be impossible to name them all here, but I must mention those, who have helped me the most. I would like to extend special thanks to Mikhail Dolbilov, with whom I have discussed many of the issues dealt with in this book. In addition I wish to thank my colleagues from the Lithuanian Institute of History, who took pains to read the manuscript and make helpful comments on the text: Zita Medišauskienė, Vilma Žaltauskaitė, Tamara Bairašauskaitė, Rimantas Miknys, Reda Griškaitė, Ieva Šenavičienė and Aldona Prašmantaitė. I am also grateful for the critical assessments offered by fellow researchers with regard to parts of the book which appeared earlier in the form of articles: Vladas Sirutavičius, Giedrius Subačius, John D. Klier, Paul W. Werth, Aleksei Miller, Kimitaka Matsuzato, and Jurgita Venckienė. I appreciate the valuable advice and assistance I have received from Henryk Głębocki, Elena Vishlenkova, Ol'ga Mastianica, Jurgita Verbickienė and Amir Weiner.

I am also grateful to the director of the Lithuanian Institute of History, Alvydas Nikžentaitis, for his toleration of my project, which sometimes impinged on my administrative duties.

Some parts of this book have already seen the light of day as articles in various learned journals: *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis, Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis, Lituanistica, Ab Imperio, Lithuanian Historical Studies, Slavianovedenie,* and *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*. I thank the publishers of these journals for permission to reprint these texts.

I am particularly grateful to those who translated this book into English: Stephen C. Rowell and Axel Holvoet. I thank Irutė Stukienė for her travail in type-setting the volume.

Separate thanks should be offered to Dietrich Beyrau and the University of Tübingen's research programme, *Kriegserfahrungen. Krieg und Gesellschaft in der Neuzeit*, for the excellent conditions I was granted in Spring 2006 to use the University's facilities while working on the manuscript of this study. This book would not have appeared without the financial support of the Commission for the Advancement of the Traditions and Heritage of Lithuanian Studies [*Lituanistikos tradicijų ir paveldo įprasminimo komisija*].

Finally I wish to thank my family for their support and understanding.

Abbreviations

AGAD – *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych* [Central Archive of Ancient Acts, Warsaw]
AGO – *Arkhiv Geograficheskogo obshchestva* [Archive of the Geografical Society, St Petersburg]
DDDII – *Departament dukhovnykh del inostrannykh ispovedanii* [Department of Religious Affairs of Foreign Confessions]
GARF – *Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii* [State Archive of the Russian Federation, Moscow]
GDL – Grand Duchy of Lithuania
IRGO – *Imperatorskoe Russkoe Geograficheskoe Obshchestvo* [Imperial Russian Geographical Society]
IRL (PD) RAN – *Institut russkoi literatury (Pushkinskii dom) Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk* [Russian Literature Institute (the Pushkin House) of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg]
KAA – *Kauno apskrities archyvas* [Kaunas District Archives]
KPUE – *Komissiia o preobrazovanii upravleniia Evreiami* [Committee for Reorganising the Control of Jews]
LVIA – *Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas* [Lithuanian State Historical Archives, Vilnius]
NWP – North Western Province [*Severo-zapadnyi krai*]
ORPMER – *Obshchestvo rasprostraneniia prosvescheniia mezhdu evreiami Rossii* [the Society for the Spread of Education among the Jews of Russia]
OR RGB – *Otdel rukopisei Rossiiskoi Gosudarstvennoi biblioteki* [Manuscript Division of the Russian State Library, Moscow]
OR RNB – *Otdel rukopisei Rossiiskoi natsional'noi biblioteki* [Manuscript Division of the Russian National Library, St Petersburg]
RGIA – *Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv* [Russian State Historical Archive, St Petersburg]
SWP – South Western Province [*Iugo-zapadnyi krai*]
VED – Vil'na Education District [*Vilenskii uchebnyi okrug*]
VUB RS – *Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos Rankraščių skyrius* [Manuscript Division of Vilnius University Library]

In archival references the following abbreviations are used:

For Russian archives

f.	–	*fond* [collection]
op.	–	*opis'* [inventory]
otd.	–	*otdelenie* [section]
k.	–	*karton* [box]
p.	–	*papka* [folder]
d.	–	*delo* [file]
ch.	–	*chast'* [part]
l.	–	*list, listy* [leaf, leaves]

For Lithuanian archives

f.	–	*fondas* [collection]
bs	–	*bendrasis skyrius* [General Section]
ps	–	*politinis skyrius* [Political Section]
ap.	–	*aprašas* [inventory]
b.	–	*byla* [file]
d.	–	*dalis* [part]
l.	–	*lapas, lapai* [leaf, leaves]

For Polish archives

rkps.	–	*rękopis* [manuscript]

Map of the North Western Province and the Suvalki Gubernia (Kingdom of Poland)



Introduction

Research Object

In 1898 a monument was erected at the behest of the local Russian authorities in Vilnius to commemorate the former governor general of Vil'na, Mikhail Murav'ev (1863–1865).[1] At the same time a Murav'ev Museum was established and publications appeared, devoted to the governor general. In this way the imperial authorities sought to commemorate the father of Russification policy in the North Western Province [*Severo-zapadnyi krai*; henceforth – NWP] and declare that this policy was to be continued. The local populace reacted with anti-government slogans and caricatures when a ceremony to unveil the monument was held, and Murav'ev's name was inseparable from the tag of "hangman."[2] Less than two decades later, when the First World War began, the tsar's army took the statue of Murav'ev with it as it withdrew from Lithuania. This was more of a symbolic reflection of Russia's political failure in the region. More important was the fact that after the war nation-states were created on the western borderlands of the former Romanov Empire; this is the best proof that the policy of Russification, associated first and foremost with Murav'ev's name, failed to achieve the aims, which the authorities had set themselves. However, do historians offer clear and justified explanations of what the Russian authorities sought to do in the empire's western borderlands, especially during Murav'ev's time as governor general of Vil'na?

Making Russians is devoted to an issue which is almost a century and a half old. The topic we will discuss here has aroused the interest of many a scholar as well as the general public: namely, what were the aims of Russian nationality policy in the 1860s, which historians ordinarily have called the Russification period, in the so-called NWP, which more or less covered the areas we now know as Lithuania and Belarus.

Nationality policy is what we call those actions by the imperial authorities, whereby officials sought to regulate the ethno-cultural status quo.[3] Therefore the concept "nationality policy" includes various cultural, educational and even economic measures, if their implementation is connected with the consolidation of the position of one national group or the weakening of that of another. So we ask ourselves, did the authorities seek to assimilate, acculturate or integrate other nationalities? As we know, scholars give different definitions of these terms.[4] We understand them like Benjamin Nathans does:

> *assimilation* should be understood as a process culminating in the disappearance of a given group as a recognizably distinct element

> within a larger society. By contrast, *acculturation* signifies a form of adaptation to the surrounding society that alters rather than erases the criteria of difference, especially in the realm of culture and identity. *Integration* is the counterpart of acculturation (though the two do not necessarily go hand in hand) in the social realm – whether institutional (e.g. schooling), geographic (patterns of residential settlement), or economic (occupational profile).[5]

Thus acculturation can, but need not necessarily, be a preparatory stage on the road to assimilation. We would even broaden the concept of integration and also regard the measures by which the imperial authorities sought to turn people of other nationalities into loyal subjects as integration.

Thus, *Making Russians* does not necessarily mean Russian policy sought to assimilate people of other nationalities. Acculturation or integration also shows the authorities' aim to turn people of other nationalities into Russians in the political, rather than the ethno-cultural sense.

Acculturation or integration policy could also use methods of "divide and rule." The aim of such policy was to support those non-dominant national groups, which, in the opinion of imperial officials, were loyal to the empire and would thereby serve as a counterweight to a disloyal nation, which was the authorities' main opponent in a given region. It should be stressed that in this case we are talking about a conscious imperial policy, by which the authorities sought to maintain the ethno-cultural identity of national groups. Those parts of nationality policy which sought to strengthen the social, economic or other position of some national group without recognising that group's separate identity, or, in other words, while recognising it as part of the dominant (Russian) national group, should not be termed "divide and rule." We should also not call "divide and rule" a policy that permits, for example, primary-school teaching in the language of a non-dominant national group just because, according to the officials, such a policy is inevitable, since children do not know any other language than their own and there is no programme for supporting such ethnic culture *per se* and such a "privilege" is not interpreted as an action directed against any other national group. The actual results of such a policy are another problem altogether. Of course, political reality was much more complex than the definitions offered here.

Nationality policy in practice presents us with actions which could be called segregation policy. We will call "segregation" an official policy which restricts the opportunities for one or other national group to chose its place of abode or way of life (attending ordinary schools, taking jobs in state service and so forth). Segregation policy simply shows that the

authorities rejected aims to integrate, acculturate or assimilate people of other nationalities.

Historical Scholarship

Before moving on to discuss the approach taken in the present study, it is necessary to review past historical studies, which can be divided roughly into two parts.[6] First of all, we will examine those historical traditions which "represent" the non-dominant national groups of the Russian Empire, paying more attention to Lithuanian studies of this problem.[7] This choice is motivated by several factors. First of all, Lithuanian studies are much more numerous than those produced by Polish or Belarusian authors. Secondly, Lithuanian national historical studies, unlike those in Belarus, have a much deeper tradition stretching back to the period between the two world wars. Even the effect of the Russian marxist canon was felt less in Lithuania than in Belarus. Thirdly, the current author is most familiar with the Lithuanian historiography. When examining Soviet Lithuanian scholarship we needs must also analyse the Russian marxist canon, which dominated within the Soviet Union. The second part of this section will be devoted to western and current Russian historical studies. Joining these areas together in one section follows on from general tendencies common to both schools in the selection of approaches, the formulation of conclusions and an obvious attempt to mark a distance between their approaches and those of national historical studies, which "represent" non-dominant national groups within the former Russian Empire.

The ethnocentric, anti-Polish paradigm which dominated Lithuanian historical writing during the first half of the twentieth century was not the only factor to have an influence on research on nineteenth-century history and studies of Russian nationality policy during the Second Lithuanian Republic. First of all, these issues were not part of a distant past. In other words, it was not so easy for researchers to look at events in recent history from the perspective of time. Also the problem of historical sources was just as significant a hurdle. The main archives connected with Lithuania's history within the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century were then outside Lithuanian borders in Vilnius (part of the Polish Republic, 1920–1939), Leningrad and Moscow. Without access to these sources it was impossible to research certain aspects of nineteenth-century history in a factographic way. This shortage of archival material was compensated for by other historical sources, first and foremost by memoirs, especially those connected with resistance to the official imposition of the use of the Cyrillic alphabet in

Lithuanian-language publications. This type of source material had its influence over historical research, which concentrated on Lithuanian resistance to Russification.

Between the wars Lithuanian historians had no doubt that Lithuanians had come up against the "Russian authorities." When presenting imperial policy it was noticed that this policy had been subject to change. Historians simply listed the actions which had amended nationality policy with regard to Lithuanians: various stances taken by tsars (for example, it was written that Catherine II was inclined to integrate annexed territories more radically into the Empire than were her successors), the challenges posed by people of other nationalities (the "Polish Uprisings," Lithuanian resistance to the prohibition of printing Lithuanian texts in the Latin alphabet), changes in the international situation, and changes within Russian society at large (such as the development of the Slavophile Movement).[8]

Thus the claim that Russia's nationality policy changed depending on circumstances would permit us to hope that Lithuanian historians recorded how the aims of that policy changed. Thus Fr Antanas Alekna, who studied Russian policy from the end of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century (until the Uprising of 1863–1864), in effect mentions only discriminatory measures and does not say what the authorities intended by acting in that way. He wrote without any ambiguity about the policy of Russification in the aftermath of the suppression of the Uprising of 1863–1864.[9] Although the term "Russification" is not explained, we would not be wrong to say that the author understood this term as assimilation (and there are absolutely no doubts that this was the way his readers understood the term). Historians paid greatest attention to the period after the suppression of the Uprising.

Polish historians at that time were subject to similar tendencies, which Andrzej Nowak has described succinctly as "the empire against the Poles and the Poles against the empire," whereby historians showed most interest in the Uprisings, the activities of the Polish underground and the repression carried out by Russia.[10]

However, there was another tendency in Lithuania between the wars where assessment of Russian policy is concerned, and this in part can be explained by the principle of "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." Since the main Lithuanian enemy between the wars was perceived to be Poland, and the empire undoubtedly had an anti-Polish policy, it was possible to view Russia in a positive light. Therefore, in the Second Lithuanian Republic there were several publications which even went so far as to assess Russian nationality policy, even the use of Cyrillic for Lithuanian texts, in a positive

light. In Lithuanian studies and those of Soviet Belarus at the time there were attempts to "rehabilitate" Murav'ev.[11] This line was taken in Lithuanian scholarship by Paulius Šležas, who suggested rejecting the view of Murav'ev, which had been imposed by the Poles. In his view, Lithuanians ought to be grateful to that governor general of Vil'na for his anti-Polish policy and the improvement of the economic position of Lithuanian peasants, and so on. Without all these official political measures, according to Šležas, there would have been no "Lithuanian revival." Murav'ev's merits were much more important than the negative consequences of his actions when the authorities sought to strengthen the Russian element in the region.[12] Admittedly, in his later work Šležas was more cautious in his assessment of Murav'ev's policy and the consequences it had for Lithuanians. Although later he did not attribute Russificatory aims to the infamous governor general of Vil'na (he explained the introduction of Cyrillic into Lithuanian publications as an attempt to draw Lithuanians away from the Poles and towards the Russians), he did admit that it was hard to decide whether Murav'ev's nationality policy did more harm than good.[13]

Some public activists even allowed themselves to ask whether, for example, it had been worth resisting the imposition of Cyrillic at all; perhaps Lithuanian culture would have benefited more if it had been possible to enjoy and promote Lithuanian writing, albeit in Russian letters.[14] It was alleged that the Lithuanian intelligentsia and ordinary folk alike had nothing against Cyrillic as such.[15] Most interestingly, these views were held not by run-of-the-mill campaigners but by well-known cultural activists during the Second Republic, who had also been active during the Lithuanian National Movement at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The situation regarding the Lithuanian historical narrative changed radically after the Soviet Union occupied Lithuania in 1940 and then again in 1945. As we know, Vladimir Lenin was compelled to amend certain fundamental principles of classical marxism. Unlike Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who asserted that the socialist revolution could only take place in the most economically developed capitalist states of western Europe, Lenin and his brood had to prove that such a revolution was possible in Russia. Thus Russia, rather than a west European state, became the herald of progress. Therefore, the official historical line in Soviet Lithuania had to be not so much marxist as supportive of the ideology of "friendship of the nations," which appeared in the Soviet Union in the mid-1930s, and claimed that the leading role within the Soviet Union belonged to the Russians and Russian culture. In addition, official ideology was redolent with primordialism and thus this ideologem had to be applied to the historical process as a whole.[16]

To put things plainly, nations were attributed certain features, which do not change over time, and so some nations become symbols of progress (the Russians), while others are symbols of reaction (the Germans, the Americans and so forth). Official historical writing began to demand proofs of how the progressive role of the Russian nation and its culture became apparent in history and how neighbouring nations, the Lithuanians included, "were lucky" to be able to join the "Great Russian Nation" in the struggle for progress. The Soviet Lithuanian historical canon was created according to this ideologem: the Lithuanians formed their own state thanks to the Russians, and together with the eastern Slavs they defended themselves from western aggressors. The Partitions of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations played a positive role in Lithuanian history, and so on.[17] This type of interpretation of the past was supposed to aid the formation of soviet identity.

Much effort was also expended in proving that the partitions of the Lithuano-Polish state at the end of the eighteenth century after this state "collapsed" had a positive effect on Lithuanians: the Lithuanian economy developed more rapidly, progressive Russian social thought influenced the development of Lithuanian culture, the class struggle became stronger and finally Lithuanians were preserved from assimilation which had threatened to engulf them.[18] From the 1960s text books recorded only one circumstance supporting the view that the incorporation of Lithuania into the Russian Empire was a positive factor, namely more rapid economic development.[19] By 1957 Juozas Jurginis' textbook did not stress that incorporation within the Russian Empire had saved Lithuanians from assimilation with the Poles.[20] Essentially from the 1970s historians avoided assessment of this fact and restricted themselves simply to a dry description of the reforms introduced after the Third Partition. Some Belarusian historians still retain the tendency to view positive aspects of the annexation of these territories by the Russian Empire: the centralised empire brought political stability, put an end to "feudal anarchy," and expanded the market, which encouraged economic growth and even Belarusian national consolidation.[21]

In the work of Lithuanian historians during the soviet period, which were devoted to nineteenth-century history, alongside special attention to the "working masses" and the struggle of the proletariat (especially the spread of marxist ideas) we come across only Lithuanians in nineteenth-century Lithuania (which is defined according to Soviet Lithuania's boundaries). This, of course, was in keeping with the Soviet principle of the "division of labour."[22]

The authorities, against which the Lithuanian National Movement fought, is described, of course, in categories of class: "The class enemies of the

Lithuanian people were the Lithuanian feudal lords and the Russian tsar, who, despite their national differences, were as one."[23] The description of the authorities differs in comparison with depictions made in inter-war historical studies. Now they were no long the "Russian authorities" but the "tsar's authorities" and "tsarism." In descriptions of the factors and motivation of official policy it was noted that this policy became more discriminatory after the Uprisings and had to take account of the rising revolutionary movement, and the opposition of the Lithuanian common people towards the prohibition on use of the Latin alphabet in Lithuanian publications. In historians' work published in the 1950s and in part in the early 1960s the actions of "tsarism," especially in the 1860s, were described as "the policy of suppressing nationalities" or in some similar fashion.[24] Some historians, like Rimantas Vėbra, stressed that Russian policy differed with regard to specific nations.[25] It is not hard to explain why this policy was not referred to as assimilation or Russification. After having admitted that the authorities sought to Russify people of other nationalities, it would have been difficult to explain the assertion of the positive effect that Lithuania's incorporation into the Russian Empire allegedly had on Lithuanian national culture. Jurginis' 1957 textbook also shows that there existed a connection between these two assertions since, as has already been observed, it does not mention any positive effect on Lithuanian national culture arising from incorporation into the empire. It comes therefore as no surprise that that book says that the "tsar's policy" after the 1863–1864 Uprising was to Russify the Lithuanians.[26] In later years historians had no doubt that the authorities sought to "Russify the region." Vėbra expounded this theory with the most consistency.[27]

In the late 1950s and early 1960s in effect only discriminatory measures used against Lithuanians and their culture were noted in discussions of the "tsarist authorities" repressions following the 1863–1864 Uprising.[28] This should not surprise us, since the 1863–1864 Uprising was regarded first of all as a popular rising against landowners and "tsarism," and only a secondary role was attributed to the "Polish Uprising." Especially great attention was paid to the prohibition on printing Lithuanian texts in the Latin alphabet, even though there were exemptions. In 1965 Vytautas Merkys provided a fuller account of the Russian authorities' discriminatory policy after the Uprising, from which it was possible to understand that the Lithuanians were not the only victims of this policy.[29] The History of Lithuania published in 1988 said clearly that the "tsar's authorities" carried out a policy of discrimination against the Poles and people of other faiths, although admittedly most attention was paid here to describing the enactment of policy against Lithuanians and their culture.[30]

The relative liberalisation within the soviet regime after the mid-1960s allowed Lithuanian historians freer choice of subjects for research. In soviet times the topic of Lithuanian publications in Cyrillic characters, especially the prohibition on the use of the Latin alphabet, the repeal of that ban, and Lithuanian resistance (the publication of Lithuanian books in Prussia, and the smuggling and distribution of books) was probably the best researched in the factographic sense, if we set aside the topics which were intended to serve the consolidation of the ideological basis of the soviet system directly (such as the formation of a proletariat, the creation of marxist parties, the establishment of soviet power, the building of collective farms and such like).[31] The importance attributed to this topic in Lithuanian historical writing at that time should be linked with aspirations of historians to fight off the imposed ideologem of "friendship of nations." The policy followed by the tsarist authorities with regard to non-dominant national groups could suggest comparisons in the readers' minds with Soviet realities.[32] However, at the same time we should admit that this topic did not present the greatest danger to the soviet regime. After all, they did allow the topic to be researched, and studies on it to be published, which was not the case with other problems in modern Lithuanian history.[33]

The political liberation since the 1990 declaration of independence in Lithuania and in effect since it began in 1988 has left its mark in Lithuanian historical scholarship. In less than twenty years since the beginning of this process Lithuanian historians have published much more work on the history of Lithuania within the Russian Empire than during the whole of the time there has been professional history-writing in Lithuania. This change was conditioned by increased public interest in history and the quite larger number of professional historians researching this subject.[34] Academics have been able to republish older work without the quotations of soviet marxist classical authors, which was compulsory before, or publish studies which the soviet authorities had not supported.[35] Political changes have enabled historians in Lithuania and other former soviet republics to deal with new topics which were forbidden in the Soviet Union, such as the history of various religious groups, including Russian religious policy.[36] However, from the point of view of historiographical development, new topics are not so important as changes in historical concepts.

First of all we should note that the ethnocentric concept of history, according to which the Russian imperial authorities are depicted as representative of modern nationalism, which from the late eighteenth century had a single aim in the region, namely to assimilate the Lithuanians, did not

only develop strongly between the wars but even increased in influence in the soviet period. It remains strong to this day.[37]

At the same time, since 1988 another tendency has become clear. This is represented in nineteenth-century studies by a younger generation of researchers working on the *Lietuvių Atgimimo istorijos studijos* [Studies in the Lithuanian National Revival] series. In brief, the credo of this group was formulated by Egidijus Aleksandravičius and Antanas Kulakauskas in their book, *Carų valdžioje. Lietuva XIX amžiuje* [Lithuania under tsarist rule in the nineteenth century], published in 1996, which claims that its subject is "Lithuanian civil history."[38] This turn away from the ethnocentric view towards what we might call a civil view, whereby the object of Lithuanian history is not just a single national group but society as a whole, can be seen, of course, in studies of other periods too. These changes in Lithuanian history writing are connected with at least three factors: after the collapse of the Soviet Union fears over the survival of ethnic Lithuanian culture have reduced; the influence of western, and certain Polish historians; and the political integration of Lithuania into European and transatlantic structures.[39]

This fresh perspective has been able to view nineteenth-century history in a new way. Lithuanian historians have become used to taking the geographical boundaries of Lithuania to be the same as those in their period of study – in the nineteenth century this was the lands of the former Grand Duchy (more or less modern Lithuania and Belarus.)[40] They have become accustomed to researching the history not only of ethnic Lithuanians but also of other ethnic groups living in Lithuania.[41]

Simplified assessments of Russian policy have also been abandoned. Younger historians stress that the most important aim of the Russian authorities in the empire's polyethnic borderlands was to ensure the political loyalty and social stability of members of other national groups; and that it is impossible to assert that throughout the whole period under discussion the authorities sought only to assimilate members of other national groups, especially the Lithuanians. They state clearly that Poles and Polishness were regarded as the empire's greatest enemies, while, for example, during Nicholas I's reign we cannot say that nationality policy was directed against the Lithuanian language because the latter was regarded as socially insignificant.[42] They also state that during Nicholas I's reign it was impossible to implement a systematic "depolonisation policy" because there was a shortage of money and manpower and in the end there were no attempts to destroy the dominating class – the gentry.[43]

Russification policy is evident for quite a short while after the suppression of the 1863–1864 Uprising.[44] Nationality policy at that time was regarded

unambiguously as assimilation policy and was sometimes even called “total Russification.”[45] We come across the same descriptions in Belarusian scholarship too, which tends to extrapolate trends in the whole of nationality policy in the western borderlands of the Romanov Empire from imperial policy actions directed against Belarusians.[46] Many authors, when writing about official policy after the Uprising, notice differences between the authorities’ actions in the NWP, where discriminatory policy was quite resolute, and the policy followed in the Avgustovo (known after the administrative reforms of 1866 as the now smaller Suvalki Gubernia in the Kingdom of Poland) where Lithuanians also lived. That policy was a little less harsh.

In addition it is often noticed that the authorities not only followed a discriminatory policy but also they did not avoid using “divide and rule” principles in their attempt to turn the Lithuanians (peasants) against the Poles (gentry).[47]

We can find some quite original conclusions about the consequences of Russian policy in Belarusian studies. Many Belarusian historians consider that imperial nationality policy, especially the measures taken after the 1863–1864 Uprising rendered Belarusian national consolidation somewhat more difficult, but here Pavel Tereshkovich suggests we assess the situation in more than one way. In his opinion, on the one hand, the imperial authorities, hindered the formation of the Belarusian nation, while on the other, it was those very authorities who “constructed” Belarusianness and created an “imaginable” Belarus. Without this stage it would have been impossible to create a national Belarus.[48]

Thus in Lithuanian studies of Russian imperial policy it is agreed, despite essential differences, that at least after the 1863–1864 Uprising the authorities sought to Russify Lithuanians. Many Belarusian researchers support this theory too. We came across similar tendencies in Polish historical scholarship, where over the past almost twenty years we find an increased interest in Russian nationality policy in Lithuania and Belarus.[49]

In his innovatory and detailed book devoted to the Polish Question in the Russian Empire in the mid-nineteenth century Henryk Głębocki stresses more than once on the basis of both the practice of nationality policy and more ideological discussions that the imperial authorities sought to Russify the Poles.[50] On the other hand, Głębocki has shown that the view of Poles among the Russian ruling-, and intellectual elites changed not after the 1863–1864 Uprising but before it in 1861, when it emerged that the Russians were unwilling to join the Western Province with the Kingdom of Poland administratively. The Polish Question, according to the Polish historian,

strengthened Russian nationalism after 1863. Because the Uprising was depicted as a "gentry rebellion" the imperial ruling elite attempted to exploit instruments of social radicalism within the Kingdom of Poland, where the Administrative Committee of the Kingdom of Poland [*Komitet Urządzający Królestwa Polskiego*] under Nikolai Miliutin attempted with the aid of peasant reforms and other means, to drive a wedge between the gentry and the ordinary people. Witold Rodkiewicz distinguishes two models of Russian nationality policy in imperial policy between 1863 and 1905: an imperial strategy, which stressed political integration based on loyalty to the empire, was not loth to support weaker national movements as counterbalances to stronger ones and believed that the Lithuanians, and Catholic Belarusians and Ukrainians would later become assimilated themselves. This view criticised aggressive policy towards people of other nationalities as something which would push them away from the Russians. Meanwhile Bureaucratic Nationalism defined Russianness in ethnic and religious categories and sought to assimilate people of other nationalities linguistically and culturally. The second model of nationality policy was dominant between 1863 and 1904.[51]

We find different trends in western and contemporary Russian historical studies. During the Cold War western historians, like their Soviet counterparts, did not regard Russian imperial nationality policy in the nineteenth century as a priority topic. Russocentric treatment of the Romanov Empire dominated historical studies noticeably.[52] This ignoring of nationality problems by historians can be explained by the opinion dominant in western society at the time that nationalism was a backward historical phenomenon. The development of the polyethnic empire's borderlands was "reserved" for "representatives" of the empire's non-dominant national groups such as Poles, Jews, and Finns, who, according to Edward Thaden, were continuing a tradition dating back to the 1860s that was formulated by Baltic Germans and Polish publicists, who treated imperial nationality policy as an attempt to turn people of other nationalities into Russians.[53]

Doubts over such simplified assessments began to arise in the late 1970s and early 1980s.[54] It is no surprise that historians who studied nationality policy in the Grand Duchy of Finland, where the imperial authorities interfered least in domestic administration, were the first to voice their doubts over the theory of Russification as resolute assimilation.[55] The greatest contribution to this revisionism was made by Thaden, who distinguished three concepts of Russification: unplanned (when other nationalities voluntarily adopted Russian language, culture, customs and so forth), administrative (a planned aim to introduce Russian institutions and laws into borderlands along with the Russian language for use in government offices and schools, as was

predominantly the case in Finland and the Baltic gubernias); and cultural Russification (when the authorities sought to make other nationalities adopt Russian culture – this policy was favoured by Alexander III).[56]

The Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc had to collapse in order to introduce these changes into historical studies in general. On the one hand, the collapse of the Soviet Union put an end to the history of Russia as a polyethnic empire, while, on the other hand, the restoration of old nation states and the foundation of new ones clearly demonstrated that nationalism was a relevant topic.[57]

From the early 1980s the polyethnic nature of the Russian empire became the subject of much research in western historical studies, especially in the English-speaking countries and Germany. Although most researchers criticise both Russocentric and other nationalist narratives, the approaches they claim to follow sometimes are formulated in different ways. Some suggest that the nationality problems of the Romanov Empire be studied according to regions; while others criticise this approach and favour a situational approach.[58] Yet another group of historians recognise that there is no single way to describe the empire and suggest a more generalising approach, which would make it possible to transcend national narratives, which are oriented towards only the author's own national group, and view the boundaries of their object of study in as wide a perspective as possible.[59]

The thesis that the empire expanded at the cost of the Russian nation, that is, the polyethnic form of the empire did not allow a project for creating a modern Russian nation to develop, is quite popular.[60] While Aleksei Miller asserts that Ernest Gellner's definition of nationalism as a movement seeking a congruence of political and cultural boundaries, suits the nationalism of non-dominant national groups, it is not a suitable term when a nationalism has its "own" empire. We would think that Miller is right to claim that the Russian ruling-, and intellectual elites distinguished between the concepts of Russian national territory and the empire: the empire was never conceived of as a framework within which a project for creating a modern Russian nation was to be brought into effect, that is, the imperial authorities never sought to effect a congruence between the empire ruled by the Romanovs and Russian culture, or in other words, the assimilation of all other nationalities. However, there was a certain imagined part of the empire in the heads of the ruling-, and intellectual elites, which either was or was to become Russian, in the ethno-cultural sense.[61]

In recent decades there has been a visible tendency in assessments of imperial nationality policy to abandon the view of that policy as a systematic assimilation of people of other nationalities. Raymond Pearson asserts that

Russia never had the ambition or the resources to assimilate non-Russians, except perhaps the Belarusians and Ukrainians, and he proposed the use of another term instead of Russification, namely Russianisation, which would mean the aim to make Russian language, culture and institutions dominate.[62] Geoffrey Hosking writes in a similar way that after 1863 many Russifying practices which were implemented sought mostly to envelop other national identities rather than eliminate them totally.[63] Often it is even noticed that the imperial authorities were not loth to make use of the principles of *divide et impera* – they supported weaker national movements against stronger ones, that is, against those which they regarded as posing more of a threat to the integrality of the empire or the Russian nation.[64] Kimitaka Matsuzato even regards such a policy as a kind of inevitability. He asserts that the total assimilation of people of another nationality in one region or another was not possible at all:

> The depolonisation of the western gubernias of Russia could not be brought about without protecting Ukrainian, Belarusian and Lithuanian peasants (and sometimes even intellectuals). The same can be said of relations between the Baltic Germans and their subject Latvians and Estonians. That is why in general a more severe nationality policy was impossible under Alexander III.

It seems, according to Matsuzato, that in the empire's borderlands, where they came up against a strong disloyal nation (in the case of Western Province, the Poles) the Russian imperial authorities carried out "a policy of ethnic Bonapartism." Such a policy intended to support other non-dominant national groups against one which was considered to be the most important foe in a given region. Governors general, who were prepared to follow a policy of "divide and rule," were sent to just such areas.[65]

There is a general tendency among western and Russian historians to discern differences in the aims of Russian nationality policy according to period, territory or national group. The clearest example of such treatment is the work of Andreas Kappeler, especially his book, *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History*.[66] He stresses that until the end of the empire the authorities' most important aim was not Russification but securing political stability.[67] According to Kappeler, traditional policy dominated in the empire until 1831 based on cooperation with the political and social elite of the newly annexed territories and demanding first and foremost political loyalty from its new subjects. Only after 1831 and even more so after the 1860s did a policy of cultural integration become stronger (it is this policy he terms as

Russification) but even this was not applied consistently to all non-dominant national groups. Kappeler formulated the theory that three factors influenced the "ethnic hierarchy" of the Russian Empire, namely political loyalty, the social factor and cultural closeness to the Great Russians (in religion, language and so forth). In his opinion, until the very last days of the empire the greatest role was played by the first two factors, although from the second half of the nineteenth century these were often supplemented by or even replaced with cultural criteria. Those ethnic groups which were closest to the centre of the ethnic hierarchy suffered least discrimination, but at the same time it was they, primarily the Belarusians and Ukrainians, who were subjected to greatest pressure to assimilate.[68]

Theodore R. Weeks also does not cite Russification as the main aim of Russian nationality policy: "Although the imperial government's 'nationality policy' never aimed to destroy ethnic groups as such, neither did the government wish to entrust these groups (particularly Jews and Poles) with political power."[69] He writes elsewhere in a similar fashion:

> Imperial Russia did not aim to crush non-Russian cultures and to amalgamate all of Russia's peoples into one undifferentiated mass. Russian culture would exert itself on the dark, uncultured masses – whether they were Lithuanian, Ukrainian, or even Jewish. In this sense – of a natural process helped along by a certain amount of state benevolence – they were unrepentant 'Russifiers.' Whether this mentality and this process can without qualification be called Russification, the reader can decide.[70]

Although readers apparently are granted the right to apply their own terms to the said views and processes, the author's opinion is quite firm, as the quotation given above shows. We may gain the impression that these assertions cannot be applied to the Belarusians and Ukrainians: "As for the suppression of Ukrainian culture, from the point of view of St Petersburg, this could hardly be a case of 'Russification' since the inhabitants of Ukraine were indisputably Russians already."[71] In articles dealing with Russian policy towards the Lithuanians, Weeks seeks to resolve this dilemma by looking first and foremost at what the officials themselves said about policy aims, especially in reports made by governors. He notices that usually officials cited the Russification of a region rather than that of a specific ethnic group as the aim of nationality policy. Weeks considers it to be hard to say whether the authorities sought to Russify the Lithuanians.[72]

Many western and Russian researchers concur with this theory, but sometimes there are exceptions. Thus, recently a monograph appeared from the pen of the Russian historian Anna Komzolova, devoted to Russian nationality policy in the NWP, and primarily the different views taken by groups within the ruling elite towards this policy. She asserts that the authorities, especially Governor General Konstantin Kaufman, sought to implement measures to bring about "the complete ethnic assimilation of Polish inhabitants of the North Western Province."[73]

Miller formulated a whole programme for "classifying and understanding" Russification. He proposes drawing attention to the multifaceted nature of Russification in the Romanov Empire: concepts of Russification depended on how Russianness was defined; it had different meanings for different national groups – in some cases the threshold of "rejected assimilation," that is, how far the Russian authorities and populace were ready to "accept" Russification, varied. For example, officials were sceptical about the possibility that Jews could become Russians. For the process of Russification both sides were important, the imperial authorities and the other nationalities, which often had their own stimuli for learning Russian or adopting Russian culture.[74]

Although western and Russian historians usually state that after the suppression of the 1863–1864 Uprising, especially from the 1880s onwards, the policy of discrimination towards non-dominant national groups grew stronger (up to the revolution of 1905), some of the authors we have cited and many others too are inclined to stress more the inconsistency of nationality policy and note that there was no body within the empire to coordinate that policy and often the measures taken by the authorities were not planned in advance but were applied in response to "challenges" arising from non-dominant national groups, such as the "Polish Uprisings" and so forth, and thus it is possible to assert that the Romanov Empire did not have any nationality policy.[75] The Russian historian, Leonid Gorizontov even stressed that inconsistency in the title of his book, which deals with the "paradoxes of imperial policy."[76] This tendency to stress the inconsistency of official policy, in our view, can also lead to extremes, which are no better than treating the imperial ruling elite as a monolithic group, which constantly sought to assimilate people of other nations. The over-emphasis on the inconsistency of Russian nationality policy can lead even unconsciously to the thought that Russian imperial policy did not have any consequences, for example, for the "delay" in Belarusian nation-building.

Mikhail Dolbilov, who has studied many aspects of nationality policy in the NWP in detail, also lays stress on the inconsistencies of imperial policy.

In his opinion, this policy lacked coordination; there were no clear criteria for Russification which were followed consistently; such criteria were essential in order to implement policy successfully.[77]

Quite recently the theory that there was no "nationality policy" in the Russian Empire has come into doubt. Paul W. Werth has noted incisively that during the first half of the nineteenth century the most important criterion for collective identity was religion. We can see that even if imperial Russia did not have a "nationality policy," it did have at least "its functional equivalent – a confessional policy," which had both an institutional centre (*Departament dukhovnykh del inostrannykh ispovedanii* [the Department of Religious Affairs of Foreign Confessions]; henceforth – DDDII) and an explicit legislative form.[78]

"Revisionist" interpretations have also gained ground gradually among historians where the Jewish Question in the Russian Empire is concerned. In recent years historians have ceased to view Russian policy towards the Jews as something predetermined by the views of the imperial political elite and intended consistently to discriminate against and Russify this ethno-religious group. It has been stated that many Russian rulers (especially Catherine II) and members of the ruling elite were inclined positively towards the Jews. The confirmation of discriminatory policy was determined not only by strong Judeophobic views on the part of the elite (it is also important that this Judeophobia was determined not only by inherited anti-Judaism but also by economic and political calculations) but also by other factors such as the closed nature of the Jewish community itself and virulent anti-Jewish sentiment among the populace. Many historians writing now agree that the imperial authorities did not seek Jewish assimilation and from the 1880s adopted a policy of segregation, and despite quite virulent anti-Jewish sentiment among members of the ruling elite, the authorities did not encourage pogroms. At the same time it is noticeable that even those Russian civil servants, who were positively inclined towards Jews, were unable to offer projects for the real integration or assimilation of this group because they were guided by an image of Jewry which was more abstract than real.[79]

Thus western and Russian historians present the "challenges" posed by other national groups, especially the "Polish Uprisings" as one of the main reasons for developments in Russian nationality policy. These Uprisings, especially that of 1863–1864, convinced the imperial authorities that their previous policy of cooperation with borderland elites was not justified, and so the move was made to implement Russification.[80]

The nationalisation of social discourse, or in other words, the ever growing influence of the ideology of Russian nationalism among the ruling

elite, could be given as the second reason for the change in nationality policy.[81] Here once more a special role is attributed to the Uprising of 1863–1864, which strengthened Russian nationalism.[82] Quite recently this aspect was discussed in an interesting way by Ol'ga Maiorova, who asserts with justification that the ruling dynasty was not inclined to recognise the nation as an historical agent, which had the potential to become a source of sovereignty. The only time when the imperial authorities were able to come to some sort of compromise, that is, recognise the status of the nation as an independent historical agent alongside the state, was during critical situations when a threat arose to the unity of the state, such as during wars. This was how the situation was conceived in 1863–1864. With the help of the idiom of war Russian intellectuals, primarily Mikhail Katkov and Ivan Aksakov, turned the Russians in their political discourse into the empire's politically dominant nation. The inability to express themselves in the political arena and the influence of the war trope, in Maiorova's opinion, determined the aggressive nature of Russian nationalist ideology.[83]

In Russian public discourse the 1863–1864 Uprising was imagined to be an enemy invasion from without. External factors or developments in the international situation are also presented by historians as reasons influencing nationality policy. In very general terms this reason can be divided into two parts, namely certain processes taking place in western Europe such as the reunification of Italy and the unification of Germany, which influenced Russia: the spread of the principle of nations in Europe became a challenge to the ruling elite of the Romanov Empire, which was wont to base the unity of the empire on patriotic loyalty to the dynasty.[84] In other cases the imperial authorities adopted certain nationality policy measures with a view to their international interests or in reaction to the nationality policy of other states: in the Ukrainian case measures were adapted with regard to Habsburg policy in Eastern Galicia. German unification changed views of the Baltic Germans as a group loyal to the ruling dynasty.[85]

Another factor influencing nationality policy was modernisation, that is, first of all the aim to unify the empire to make it easier to rule.[86] One such episode which speeded up modernisation in the Romanov Empire was the changes carried out under Alexander II, which are known as the "Great Reforms." Dolbilov linked the aims of the "Great Reforms" with Russification policy in the western borderlands. He explains many nationality policy measures in the NWP, for example in religious or language policy, not so much assimilation measures as the aims of reform-minded civil servants to unify the social situation in the NWP and Russia and separate peasants from the gentry opposition by "drawing the common people" towards the reforming state.[87]

Comparing the opinions of historians of various groups, we can detect a tendency for historians, who "represent" former non-dominant national groups (Belarusians, Poles, Lithuanians and so forth), to select as the object of their research most often an analysis of how specific Russian nationality policy measures were implemented, while Russian national discourse is a more popular topic among western and Russian historians. Even in cases where these historians choose specific nationality policy measures as their subject, their conclusions are usually in line with discourse analyses. It is probable that such differing perspectives determine to a large extent conclusions about the aims of Russian nationality policy. These differences must not, of course, be regarded as absolute. More and more historians of the first group are researching Russian national discourse (Głębocki, for example), while those of the second tendency, such as Dolbilov among others, are looking more deeply at the ways in which nationality policy measures were implemented.

Research Method and Structure

The different tendencies historians show for researching the Russian Empire's nationality policy require us to give as clear as possible a definition of the approach taken in this study. When we seek to discover whether imperial civil servants sought to denationalise other national groups we must first and foremost discern how the concept of nationality was understood at that time. To this end we will examine three closely interrelated problems.

First of all, we must find out how civil servants of various ranks and influential publicists formulated the aims of nationality policy, paying special attention to what terms they used (Russification [*obrusenie*], assimilation [*assimiliatsiia*], emancipation [*emantsipatsiia*], and so forth) and the semantics of such terminology.

Further, we must see how nationality was understood in Russian discourse at that time, that is, who was regarded as a Pole, Russian, Jew, or Lithuanian and how, in the view of civil servants and influential Russian publicists, it was possible to change nationality or, in simple terms, what a Pole should do in order to be treated as a Russian (change his appearance, learn the Russian language, change his religion, and so forth). When we seek to answer this question we must look at not only ethnographic descriptions or nationality statistics, but also discriminatory policy in practice. For after the suppression of the 1863–1864 Uprising the imperial authorities in many cases protected some national groups and discriminated others. Analysing this policy is useful too because civil servants were obliged to

give the national affiliation of individuals not according to a principle of "what it ought to have been," which often happened in ideologised historical texts, but "what it really was."

After explaining how nationality was understood in those times, that is, which segments of national identity were regarded as being the most important, we must examine whether the authorities preferred to change or completely annihilate segments of identity which bore witness to the separate nature of a given nationality. The selection of this approach to research dictated the structure of this book and the terminology it uses.

First we will examine what the role was played in the mental map of civil servants by the so-called NWP, which has been selected as the geographical boundary of this study. Nationality policy problems will be examined throughout the NWP because imperial civil servants regarded it as a separate regional entity. Civil servants and publicists discerned the ethnic, religious or even historical specificity of separate parts of the region but its status as a separate integral region is illustrated best by the existence of the post of governor general of Vil'na to administer it. This does not mean that Russian nationality policy will be examined solely within the NWP or that only the policy of civil servants within the NWP will be analysed. The stance and policy adopted by the central authorities also will be examined in so far as this affected the region. In separate instances, depending on the issue under examination, other polyethnic imperial borderlands will fall within our scope. For example, when analysing Russian policy towards the Lithuanians we will have to look at the Avgustovo Gubernia, where a considerable number of Lithuanians dwelt. In other words, we will adopt a regional and a situational approach.

The Second Chapter of the book deals with the prehistory of Russification policy. This covers the imperial nationality policy followed in the region when Vladimir Nazimov was governor general of Vil'na (1855–1863), especially in the early 1860s, and the ethno-political stances adopted by local civil servants and especially the governor general himself. We will see how far this coincided with various recipes for nationality policy, which were being discussed at the time in St Petersburg. This period is important for several reasons. On the one hand, at the time the possibilities for implementing a "divide and rule" policy in the empire's western borderlands were the subject of intensive debate among the empire's political and intellectual elites. These deliberations show that the Russification policy initiated after the 1863–1864 Uprising had not been predetermined. On the other hand, many of the nationality policy measures, which Governor General Murav'ev of Vil'na began to implement, had been suggested by his predecessor.

The Third Chapter of the study analyses how imperial civil servants formulated the aims of nationality policy, and the terms they used. Special attention will be paid to the semantics of the term "Russification." It is important to determine who used it and in what sense it was used, and if it was not used, why not? When we use the term Russification in this study (or Germanisation, Polonisation or depolonisation) we will have in mind the meaning it was given in the nineteenth century; when we require analytical categories, we will select, depending on the situation, terms such as assimilation, acculturation, integration or segregation.

In Chapter Four, "Separating 'Them' from 'Us.' Definitions of Nationality in Political Practice," we will analyse what kinds of criteria determined nationality in the view of Russian civil servants, and how the process of changing nationality was conceived. This research will cover discriminatory policy in land ownership and education, how civil servants and teachers were replaced, and ways in which nationality statistics were gathered; separate attention will be paid to the problems of Jewish identification in Russian discourse at that time.

Chapters Five and Six deal with specific means of nationality policy used by the imperial authorities in the NWP after 1863, that is in the period which historians tend to treat as the years when Russification was strongest. We will analyse various aspects of nationality policy: what techniques were used in Russification policy, how various parts of the Russian imperial authorities interacted in the adoption or implementation of decisions, and how far representatives of non-dominant national groups were involved in the adoption or implementation of such decisions. However, this study will not deal with all nationality policy measures, but only those, which, judging from conclusions drawn in earlier parts of this book, were aimed at assimilating or acculturating members of national groups, namely religious and language policy.[88] There are cases where one and the same means of implementing nationality policy will be discussed as part of both religious and language policy. This is the case, for example, with our discussion of the introduction of Russian as the language to be used in non-Russian-Orthodox religious services. The use of this measure with regard to the Roman Catholic Church was intended to alter the religious situation; in the case of the Jews, it was first of all part of language policy. Even though sometimes the distinction between language- and confessional policy can appear artificial. The analysis presented in these chapters will differ significantly from earlier studies of the issue primarily because they will present Russian religious policy (a subject barely touched upon by Rodkiewicz) and secondly, because the Jewish

Question will be examined (a problem absent from Rodkiewicz and Komzolova's books, let alone previous Lithuanian studies); thirdly, the use of sources from local archives alongside documents which reflect the policy of the central authorities will allow us to reveal the ethno-political stance and influence on nationality policy of lower-level civil servants as well as those of the central authorities or governor general.

The book ends not only with conclusions which summarise the results of our research, but also with some thoughts on a topic which is not directly connected with the subject of this book, namely what were the consequences of Russian imperial nationality policy and could such policy have had results that would have been more favourable for the authorities?

The image of Russian nationality policy presented in the book differs from the assessments usually offered by Lithuanian, Belarusian or Polish historians first and foremost because we present a depiction of the aims of imperial nationality policy with greater nuances. This means we reject the theory of a consistent aim on the authorities' part to assimilate members of other national groups. The research presented here shows that even during the first decade following 1863 the civil service entertained various strategies for nationality policy: one group prioritised the assimilation of other nationalities (in the case of the Belarusians and, in part, the Lithuanians) and when this was impossible or even undesirable there was a swing between acculturation and segregation (in the case of the Poles and Jews); another group favoured integration. At the same time the interpretation offered here will enter into discussion with the assessment of Russian nationality policy as it is presented by western and Russian historians, especially those works, which contain a significant analysis of Russian national discourse. In this study we have attempted to show that an analysis of Russian national discourse, especially the semantics of the terminology of Russification, is important, but the results of such analysis can give only very limited information about the aims of this policy. A closer look at the implementation of discriminatory policy allows us to see in Russian imperial policy more attempts to assimilate or otherwise dilute the culture of non-dominant national groups than we might imagine possible by analysing only the so-called official discourse.

This research is based mostly on an analysis of official and much less private correspondence between civil servants as preserved in Lithuanian and Russian archives. A less important source was provided by published material, which offers laws or other resolutions which took effect within the empire, examples of other kinds of official correspondence, which took place

from time to time, and memoirs. Another important source used here is the periodical press of the day.

Problems of Terminology

Before moving on to specific issues dealt with in this study we need to discuss a few important terminological problems. In this study nationalism is understood to mean systematic views, which primarily require loyalty to an imagined egalitarian community called the nation, rather than a dynasty, state or other object. Coordinated actions seeking to put these views into practice are called a national movement.

We also have to discuss the problem of what kind of general term could be used to describe the "objects" of nationality policy. In the period under discussion when national groups were differentiated from Russians (the word Russian included Belarusians and Ukrainians) they were called *inorodtsy* (aliens, people of different origin).[89] In this case we must decide upon analytical categories.

In traditional national narratives there is virtually no such problem because by maintaining a teleological view they offer no doubts that Russian nationality policy was directed against nations. In western studies use is often made of the term "national minorities." Both of these cases are problematic. The first provides problems from its teleology, while the second transfers categories from an age of nationalism back into older times, when the ruling elites of polyethnic states, including Russia, conceived of their polities not as nation states but as dynastic empires. This term is problematic as an analytical category for another reason too. Russians, that is the Great Russians, made up only 43 percent of all imperial subjects at the end of the nineteenth century. If we count Belarusians and Ukrainians along with the Great Russians (thereby following the dominant concept of what was a Russian at that time), then they will form a majority of the empire's population, but in that case the term national minority does not serve as a suitable analytical category. Therefore we have selected another term, which is more neutral as an analytical category while at the same time reflecting the position of the ruling imperial elite, namely non-dominant national group.[90] Despite the fact that some historians have criticised the use of the term "dominant national group" with reference to the Russians, we consider that the distinction between dominant and non-dominant national groups (Russians, and Lithuanians and Jews and the like, respectively) is a correct one, when analysing the ethno-political situation in the NWP in the 1860s.[91] This differentiation is based on the general practice of Russian imperial nationality

policy after the Uprising of 1863–1864, when Russians were privileged in law and in practice and non-dominant national groups, primarily Poles and Jews, were discriminated against.[92]

There is another problem which is just as complex. This is connected with the names given to specific national groups. Scholarly discussion of this topic has been active in recent years. One can discern conditionally two strategies in the use of terminology, although, of course, we would not be wrong to say that it is difficult to sustain the use of either of these strategies consistently. The first suggested using terms which were used at the time. This means that when analysing official policy we should use terms which civil servants themselves used.[93] The other strategy would be to use modern terms in historical research. This issue becomes especially acute when discussing what we should call those national groups which made up the modern Ukrainian nation in the twentieth century. The first strategy would call those subjects of the Russian Empire, especially if their ethno-political orientation is unknown, "Little Russians" because that was the term used in the nineteenth century and in this way we can show that there were alternatives to the national project which was eventually adopted. According to the second strategy, the term "Little Russian" ought not to be used in historical writing because during the empire's decline civil servants used the term pejoratively and thus it would be better to choose another option. For example, we could call this national group "Ukrainian-speaking peasants."[94]

In Lithuania and Belarus it seems at first glance that there are no such acute problems as the Ukrainian-Little Russian-Ruthenian-Russian conundrum. But in fact exactly such a problem does exist in those areas and it is even more complex when we analyse not one "nationality question" but nationality policy in the case of all the most important national groups within the region. According to the terms used by civil servants, the main national groups in the NWP were Russians, Poles, Jews and Lithuanians. This terminology "hides" national groups which were quite different in their social structure, cultural level and consciousness. We will pay much attention to how civil servants conceived these national categories but for the time being we must describe the ethno-political processes under way in this region.

Historians thus far have not described in detail and with full argumentation the transformation in the national consciousness of the region's social elite, which took place as the concept of gentry nation, which until the end of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations (1795) had been twofold, whereby the gentry regarded themselves as being both Polish (citizens of the Commonwealth) and Lithuanian (citizens of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania), was replaced by a modern ethno-linguistic concept. It is likely that in the

nineteenth century, especially in the first half, the collective identity of the gentry was not only or not so much political or ethno-cultural/linguistic as regional. There are no great doubts about this because during the rest of the century the process continued whereby gentry of the former Grand Duchy became culturally and also politically Polonised. This means that they increasingly felt themselves to be part of the Polish nation and political/historical/linguistic differences lost more and more significance. Although in mid-century there were public activists who propagated the idea of the separateness of Lithuania's culture and history from that of Poland, as far as we can tell from research that has been carried out, they were only a small part of the Lithuanian gentry.[95] Thus the process of the transformation of the gentry nation into a modern nation was not complete and it is difficult to describe it by applying categories of a political or modern (ethnolinguistic) kind.

As we know, the western part of the Kovno Gubernia, Žemaitija (Samogitia; Lowland), was the most important region for the Lithuanian National Movement before the 1863–1864 Uprising and for some while afterwards. Until the mid-nineteenth century, as a standard language was being created, alongside attempts to take account of several basic Lithuanian dialects there were various projects for creating a standard Žemaitijan language which could be used by all ethnic Lithuanians, or alongside and equal to two other standard languages, Aukštaitijan and Prussian-Lithuanian.[96] The latter project probably would be the most radical example of Žemaitijan separatism from Lithuanians. However, apart from differences in dialect there were no other social, cultural or political factors to form a separate Žemaitijan nationalism. Using the Czech historian, Miroslv Hroch's schematisation of national movement periodisation, Lithuanian researchers date Phase B of the Lithuanian National Movement (conscious expression of national agitation) to the early nineteenth century, but there are also claims that this movement was halted as a result of the repressions that began after the 1863–1864 Uprising and that it resumed development after the underground *Aušra* journal began to appear in 1883.[97]

The formation of a modern nation depended even more on Russian imperial policy towards the Belarusians.[98] Attempts by Belarusian historians to date the beginning of the national movement to the second decade of the nineteenth century have not been convincing. Quite often Belarusian scholarship associates virtually all educated activists from the first half of the nineteenth century, who were interested in Belarusian folk creativity and its popularisation, with the Belarusian National Movement.[99] This stage is called the popular cultural stage in the national movement and the movement

on to the political phase is associated with one of the leaders of the 1863–1864 Uprising in Lithuania, Kastuś Kalinoŭski.[100] Admittedly, this tendency is not the only one, even though it is the dominant tendency in Belarusian scholarship. In Belarusian and especially other historical traditions (Polish, German and the English-language traditions) this interpretation of the Belarusian National Movement attracts its doubters. It is noted that such educated activists as, for example, Adam Kirkor and Wincenty Dunin-Marcinkiewicz, who is sometimes referred to as the father of Belarusian literature, and others did not regard the Belarusians as being a separate nation and their activities were not of an active political kind.[101] There are also doubts as to whether Kalinoŭski had a crystalised vision of the Belarusians as a separate people and sought Belarusian independence.[102] Fewer discussions arise concerning the ability to call the activities of Belarusian students in Russian universities between the late 1870s and early 1880s a Belarusian National Movement.[103] However, there are cases where historians, especially in the west, sometimes give a later date for the beginning of the Belarusian National Movement, namely the early twentieth century.[104] When we assess the interest of educated members of the public in the Belarusian language, or folk culture in general in the mid-nineteenth century, it is obvious that such interest, even if it is not regarded as an expression of the Belarusian National Movement, objectively could still have created conditions for the formation of Belarusian nationalism in the era of the "Great Reforms."[105]

The mid-nineteenth century was also important in the ethno-political development of Jews subject to the Russian Empire. As Eli Lederhendler notes, it was from the 1860s that the rabbinic elite and the liberal intelligentsia attempted to express Jewish nationality one the one hand, and official policy, on the other hand, gradually reduced the differences between separate Jewish communities, and little by little united them as a single Russian Jewish community.[106] Apparently, it is no coincidence that at that time the *Maskilim* supporters of *Haskalah* (Enlightenment) were discussing intensively the need for Jews within the Russian Empire to have an institution to represent their interests.[107] This process also reduced the role of Lithuanian Jews, who had previously had a powerful political influence when Jewish interests had to be represented. Other centres arose alongside Vilnius where representative Jewish interest groups made themselves known. At the end of the nineteenth century the St Petersburg Jewish elite took over the role of leader among Russian Jewry.[108] In the second half of the century we come across a fundamental crisis in the Jewish community which led to, among other things,

a reduction in the authority of rabbis, and the growth of modern ideologies such as nationalism, Hebrew socialism, and populism among Russian Jewry.[109]

Bearing in mind the terminology for national groups used by officials and also the complex national processes taking place in Lithuania and Belarus in the mid-nineteenth century, the use of specific terms to refer to national groups will depend on context. When we analyse the views of officials, we will use terms that were typical of their rhetoric. When we look at processes taking part in society at large, we will use the following terminology to denote national groups: Polonophone gentry or gentry of Lithuania; Žemaitijans and Lithuanians, or simply Lithuanians, Belarusians, and Jews.

In this study dates are given according to the Julian Calendar, which was used in most of the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century and was at that time 12 days behind the Gregorian Calendar, which was used in the Kingdom of Poland. In cases where documents were drafted in the Kingdom of Poland and addressed to the central authorities, dates will be given according to *both* calendars.

I. Administrative Boundaries and Nationality Policy

The Russian Empire did not practise the territorialisation of ethnicity, or in other words, the imperial authorities did not make administrative territories coincide with ethnic territories. The territorialisation of ethnicity was brought into effect only in the Soviet Union.[1] As the discussion of various projects within the Romanov Empire for changing administrative boundaries according to the ethnic composition of a given territory shows, the ruling elite was perfectly well aware that the territorialisation of ethnicity was fraught with dangers for the unity of the empire, since in that way through their own efforts the authorities would have encouraged the strengthening of nationalism among non-dominant national groups.[2]

Here we will discuss geographical issues dealt with in this book, that is, we will explain how the Grad Duchy of Lithuania (henceforth – GDL) was integrated into the Russian Empire, and most importantly of all, we will explore what links there were between nationality policy strategies and the role of administrative boundaries or centres in this territory.[3]

In the western borderlands of the empire, that is, the lands of the former GDL, the main reins of power were held by the governors general. The existence of the governor generalships which united several gubernias showed that the imperial authorities recognised the special nature of the territory subject to a governor general. It is well known that governors general as an institution were appointed in the Russian Empire as of 1775. This thereby acknowledged the need to have strong and relatively independent rule in those places. Although Russian bureaucrats recognized in the early nineteenth century that the office of governor general lent *sui generis* autonomous status to separate areas of the empire, it was thought wise to leave them only on the fringes of the Empire and in the capitals. Thus when there was no longer a political need, or the necessary degree of integration had been achieved, the office of governor general was abolished.[4]

Without going into great detail we will notice that the heart of the lands subject to the governor general of Vil'na were lands of the former GDL, which Russia annexed at the Third Partition.[5] On the eve of the "Great Reforms" the governor general of Vil'na was in charge of the Vil'na and Grodno Gubernias and the Kovno Gubernia, formed from former north-western districts of the Vil'na Gubernia in 1843.

Historians usually place the governor general of Vil'na in the group of governors who owed their existence to political or ethno-political reasons, or, in other words, the need to combat an "alien" and often oppositional national group dominating a given territory. This group of governors also included the Supreme Head of the Caucasus and the governors general of



Fig. 1. *The Governor General's Palace (1861–1866)*

Kiev, Warsaw and, for special reasons, the second capital, Moscow.[6] We consider that this group should also cover the Baltic governor general (the post was abolished in 1876) and the governor general of Finland.

However, at the same time, especially after the 1830–1831 Uprising, the imperial authorities attempted to eliminate differences between the former GDL territories and the so-called interior gubernias. First of all there was an attempt to eliminate the terms Lithuania and Belarus from official texts. In 1840 Nicholas I prohibited the use of the terms "Lithuanian-" and "Belarusian gubernias" so that the separateness of the united former GDL territories would be forgotten. He commanded they be mentioned separately all the time.[7] Some officials and publicists were even wont to eliminate the term Lithuania from public discourse altogether:

> We still see this term [Lithuania] on the signs of the local Orthodox Seminary, Consistory and diocesan news as well as in the title of the Orthodox bishop of Vil'na. This relic from the past is all the more sharp, pointless and inexplicable since the government struck out these names a long time ago from the title of the governor general and the former Lithuanian Grodno Gubernia.[8]

However, such attempts were fruitless and this term remained in use not only in various publications but also in official documents. Most often the

term “Lithuanian Gubernias” was used for gubernias which were under the control of the governor general of Vil’na, that is, that territory, which had been annexed to the empire after the Third Partition.

In official and public Russian discourse in the mid-nineteenth century, as nationalist thought became popular, Lithuania and Belarus were conceived of more and more not in the historical, but in the ethnic sense. At that time, as Professor Mikhail Koialovich of the St Petersburg Spiritual Academy asserted, Belarus was “where the people speak Belarusian.”[9] Thus it comes as no surprise that from the mid-nineteenth century the Minsk Gubernia was allotted to the group of Belarusian gubernias, rather than the Lithuanian ones. Lithuania was also conceived of increasingly in ethnic terms. Thus not only the Kovno Gubernia but also the larger part of the Vil’na Gubernia and a part of the Grodno and Avgustovo Gubernias, as well as a section of Eastern Prussia, came to be regarded as “Lithuania.”[10] However, in administrative practice ethnic Lithuanian territory was identified often with the Kovno Gubernia, which was most commonly regarded as the most problematic gubernia on account of its ethno-confessional situation and geo-political position. This gubernia was regarded as problematic by the authorities because Catholic Lithuanians formed the overwhelming majority of the population and the area bordered on Prussia, the Baltic gubernias and the Kingdom of Poland.[11] In this context the term “Kaunas Lithuania” formed.[12] Sometimes separate mention was made of Žemaitija in Lithuania. Thus, when discusions were held to rearrange the administrative composition of the western gubernias at the turn of the 1830s and 1840s, there was consideration of creating a separate Gubernia of Žemaitija, since the north-western districts of the then-Vil’na Gubernia were

> different from the other (districts of the Vil’na Gubernia) and has a special national way of life with its own dialect, and customs, which have taken root among the inhabitants and are respected by them more than the requirements of the law.[13]

According to this project the centre of the new gubernia was to have been Raseiniai [Rossieny], “the best and largest town of Žemaitija,” since Kaunas belonged to “Lithuania, not Žemaitija” and lay outside the boundaries of the planned new gubernia.[14] However, the territory of the Duchy of Žemaitija, whose eastern boundary was formed by the Nevežis river was too small and so it was joined up with other Lithuanian districts to form a new gubernia with its centre in Kaunas.[15] In the 1860s even the term Žemaitija posed problems for some local officials because it aroused unnecessary historical associations among the local population:

> it constantly brings to mind the days when a separate Lithuanian people existed and it is a simple term which could harm state unity and even serve as a topic for national and political isolation. For this reason we must note that its is not unintentional that in various RC prayerbooks in the Žemaitijan language the current Kovno Gubernia is referred to by such terms as 'our country,' 'the land of our fathers,' 'our duchy' or 'the duchy of Žemaitija' *tour court.*[16]

Of course, the imperial authorities not only attempted to expunge the historical terms Lithuania and Žemaitija from the people's memories and public usage, but also to replace them with other terms. From the early years of the second decade of the nineteenth century the term "Western Province" came to be used in reference to former GDL territories, which fitted the historical theory then being propagated, according to which these territories were Russian not only by historic right but also ethnically.[17] The 1830–1831 Uprising also changed another term: while after the Partitions the territories annexed by Russia were referred to as the "annexed gubernias," after the 1830–1831 Uprising they were called the "regained gubernias," that is, regained from Poland.[18] The names of regional sub-divisions also soon appeared: the South Western Province (the Ukrainian lands annexed by Russia, which following the 1569 Union of Lublin had been transferred from the GDL to Poland, namely the new Kiev, Volyn and Podolia Gubernias; henceforth – SWP) and the NWP (the Lithuanian and Belarusian gubernias). The latter term, as far as we can tell, was already in use in education department documents in the 1830s and was used in laws in the early 1840s; it became used generally after 1863.[19]

The cause of the ruling elite's greatest headache in this region was the former capital of the GDL, Vilnius, which by being "capital" of this region was supposed to serve best the formation of a strong centre for spreading Russian culture and civilisation.

Vilnius enjoyed its greatest influence as a regional administrative centre at the time when Murav'ev was appointed governor general (1863–1865), but by the early 1860s there had already been attempts under Governor General Nazimov to strengthen Vilnius' role as a Russian centre for the NWP. It was just at that time that a plan was drafted in the Interior Ministry to decrease the powers of governors general in civil affairs and leave them with more political functions after they also became heads of the military districts.[20] The governors general, including Nazimov, opposed this reduction in their official powers. In the opinion of the governor general of Vil'na, this office was essential so that there could be an effective fight against



Fig. 2. *Vilnius churches (1873)*



Fig. 3. *Vilnius Cathedral and bell tower (1870–1880)*

opposition forces and it was supposed to become the centre of Russian influence. Therefore, he thought, the opposite path should be taken, to strengthen the powers of the governors general.[21] This difference in opinion over the functions of the governor general office between Nazimov and the Interior Minister, Petr Valuev was connected not only with their different views of the degree of centralisation but also with their divergent conceptions of nationality policy. In the early 1860s Nazimov proposed taking radical anti-Polish measures, while Valuev was inclined towards certain compromises with the Lithuanian gentry.[22] At first Nazimov controlled only three Gubernias, namely Vil'na, Kovno and Grodno, but by Alexander II's imperial decree of 10 August 1862 the Minsk Gubernia was also subordinated to the governor general of Vil'na. This move was motivated by the anti-government movement, which broke out in the Minsk Gubernia; it was also connected with the formation of military districts.

However, as has been noted, the governor general of Vil'na enjoyed greatest influence when the office was held by Murav'ev.[23] As is well known, Murav'ev was appointed to govern four gubernias (Vil'na, Kovno, Grodno, and Minsk) but his power was extended also to Vitebsk and Mogilev and also the military units stationed in those six territories. This extension of the powers of the governor general of Vil'na territorially into what were called then the Belarusian Gubernias (to which Minsk was often joined) was explained at the time by the need to combat the Rebels who migrated from one gubernia to another. At the same time the power of the overseer of the Vil'na Education District [*Vilenskii uchebnyi okrug*; henceforth – VED] was set to cover the six gubernias.[24] For the motives of fighting the Rebels more effectively four districts from the Avgustovo Gubernia were placed under Murav'ev's control too in 1863. Murav'ev even suggested reviewing the status of Avgustovo Gubernia and placing it under the governor general of Vil'na because here "the people are more Žemaitijan [i.e. speak Lithuanian] and as a consequence belong in all fairness not to Poland but to the Lithuanian land."[25] Thus in effect Murav'ev was seeking to extend the power of the governor general of Vil'na to as many as seven gubernias.

The last case involving the ethnic Lithuanian districts of the Avgustovo Gubernia is worth special attention.[26] The proposal to join these districts to those already administered by the governor general of Vil'na should be connected not only with a desire to behave "properly" with regard to ethnic Lithuanian territory, but also with the opinion, which was quite widespread among the ruling elite, that the Kingdom of Poland was only a temporary Romanov domain. In one rough draft of a document trying to justify the need to maintain the said four districts under the control of the governor

general of Vil'na, the same Murav'ev said that this was a way to keep the region "in our domain." Such a phrase implying that the Kingdom of Poland was not "in our domain" could not remain in the final draft of the document, of course, where it was replaced with the phrase "Russian domain."[27] Officials of lower rank were less cautious. The VED inspector, Vasilii Kulin, spoke out against introducing the Russian language into the supplementary Catholic services and proposed strengthening the position of Russian Orthodoxy in the region, which implies forcing Catholics to convert to Orthodoxy, because that was the only way to "solder" the region onto the rest of Russia and thereby "create a strong Russian state border in the west."[28] Here, as we can see, Poland falls outside the "Russian state border." It comes as no surprise that in the mid-nineteenth century the empire's intellectual elite, in its attempt to solve the Polish Question, considered the possibility that the Kingdom of Poland should be granted independence or at least its own constitution.[29] In other words, in the view of influential publicists and officials the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Province were essentially different in matters of status. Even Valuev was strict in his view:

> while, in the light of historical specificity from the Congress of Vienna to the present day the Russian government has been acting with caution and concession in the Kingdom, there is no need for such caution and concession in the Western Province. On the contrary, any concession here is extraordinarily dangerous and harmful. It seems like weakness or doubting our own affairs.[30]

Of course, at that time the imperial Russian authorities had no intention of giving up voluntarily the land they had seized, and there could only have been a matter here of extending autonomy. Despite such different treatments of the Kingdom and the Western Province, the central authorities made no effort to transfer control of the Lithuanian districts of the Avgustovo Gubernia to the governor general of Vil'na.

The subjection of six gubernias to the authority of governor general of Vil'na was connected not only with military operations against the Rebels but also with attempts to implement an effective Russification policy. This means that there was indirect admission that Polish influence on social development in all six gubernias could be destroyed or at least reduced only with the authorities' help.

Certain implemented or simply planned anti-Polish measures were supposed to help consolidated the position of Vilnius as a strong Russian administrative and cultural centre. First of all, the subjection of Catholics in the Minsk Gubernia to the bishop of Vilnius, which was introduced in 1869.



Fig. 4. *Minsk, mid-nineteenth century*

Admittedly, there was consideration of a plan also to abolish the diocese of Vilnius and place its territory under the diocese of Minsk, but even in that case the episcopal residence was supposed to be in Vilnius. By abolishing the diocese of Minsk, the authorities hoped that it would be easier for the governor general of Vil'na to control the episcopal authorities residing in the same town.[31] The same arguments had encouraged the authorities a little earlier to translate the epsicopal seat of the diocese of Žemaitija or Telšiai [Tel'shi] (Kovno Gubernia) from Varniai [Vorny] to the Gubernia centre in Kaunas.[32] Such decisions show that the imperial authorities assessed their chances of controlling the Catholic hierarchy quite optimistically in this case and they paid less attention to the possible symbolic aspect of such a move. We can guess that the translation of the centre of the diocese of Minsk to Vilnius in Catholic eyes would give Vilnius an even greater image as a Catholic centre. Admittedly, the "mistake" was corrected in 1883 when the Catholic diocese of Minsk was subordinated to the Archdiocese of Mogilev in an attempt to preserve its Belarusian inhabitants from the negative effect of Polish and Lithuanian influence in the diocese of Vilnius.[33]

Plans to set up a university or an Orthodox Spiritual Academy in Vilnius which were proposed on more than one occasion may be regarded as being among unimplemented attempts, which were supposed to add to the consolidation of the town as the cultural centre of the NWP. Such plans were not put into practice but the most important thing is that at least some of the officials regarded Vilnius as the most suitable site for such an academic institution that would also help propagate Russian culture.[34]



Fig. 5. *Kaunas, mid-nineteenth century*

All the measures taken by the state or certain projected measures (consolidating the power of the governor general and spreading his powers to other gubernias, the expansion of the Education District, the dissolution of the diocese of Minsk, the possible foundation of a Russian higher education institution), which we have discussed here, increased or may have increased both the real and symbolic significance of Vilnius as "capital" of the NWP and were intended to aid the formation of a working policy of Russification.

Nevertheless, alongside what we might call this optimistic tendency we also come across a frequent, albeit indirect recognition in the 1860s that the Polish element was dominant in Vilnius and that in the near future this situation could not be changed. This means the influence of the Polish element had to be reduced.

We come across such ideas quite a while before the 1863–1864 Uprising. In this context we may return to our earlier discussion of the creation of the Kovno Gubernia. Although the foundation of this Gubernia was conditioned by administrational motives, that is, an attempt to make gubernias identical according to territory and local population numbers, somewhat later this move was interpreted as a measure that helped reduce Vilnius' influence in the region. An hypothesis was put forward which claimed that Kaunas could have become the most important centre on the western fringes of the empire because of its especially good geographical position, thereby taking over the role of Vilnius.[35]

The aim of reducing the role of Vilnius in the region formed the grounds for most of the projects to change administrative boundaries within the empire's western borderlands in the 1860s. At the end of 1862 Valuev proposed moving certain Western Province districts into gubernias that did not form part of the territory.[36] At the beginning of 1864 Murav'ev propsed joining certain districts in the Mogilev and Vitebsk Gubernias to the so-called Great-Russian Gubernias and setting up a new Dinaburg [Daugavpils] Gubernia to include several Latgala districts (from the Vitebsk Gubernia) and districts from several other gubernias: Novo-Aleksandrovsk [Zarasai] (Kovno Gubernia), Disna (Vil'na Gubernia); and also joining part of the districts of the Minsk Gubernia to the Vitebsk and Mogilev Gubernias, and placing Rezhitsa [Rezekne] and part of the Mozyr' district in the Chernigov and Kiev Gubernias. By transferring districts from one gubernia to another, according to Murav'ev, they would manage to "draw them away from local administrative centers in which the power of the Polish Party still predominates."[37] Similar proposals were put forward too by the governor general of Vil'na's assistant, Aleksandr Potapov, who thought that they should "move to the east all that can, without taking exceptional measures, develop along with general state construction."[38]

The influential slavophile Aksakov also suggested maintaining such a strategy. Thus the justification for transferring part of the Minsk Gubernia to the Mogilev Gubernia was that "Mogilev, compared with Minsk, represents more of a Russian social element," while Minsk should be compensated at the expense of Vil'na, that is, by annexing the Vileika and Ashmena districts, since "Minsk is situated in the centre of Belarus and abounds in Belarusian traditions. It could serve as an administrative centre for certain Belarusian districts of the Vil'na Gubernia with greater utility than Vilnius." Meanwhile Vilnius, according to Aksakov, has "become a centre and a symbol in Lithuania of Polish power, Polish civilisation, so that it is something along the lines of a Lithuanian St Petersburg," and the Minsk Gubernia "needs must feel drawn towards the centre of Polonism in Lithuania, namely Vilnius," because that is where the governor general resided.[39]

There were proposals from various officials for transferring some areas from the NWP to the Baltic Territory. According to a plan drafted in the Interior Ministry, the governor general of the Baltic was supposed to take over the whole of the Kovno Gubernia, except for the Novo-Aleksandrovsk District, because, *inter alia*, it was "necessary to liberate the Lithuanians from the influence of the Polish element." At the same time this plan intended removing the Gubernias of Vitebsk and Minsk, which had been changed, from subordination to the governor general of Vil'na.[40] In 1865 Potapov

proposed joining the Žemaitijan districts of the Kovno Gubernia (Tel'shi, Shavli [Šiauliai], and Rossieny) to the Curland Gubernia and also removing the Gubernias of Mogilev and Polotsk (which would be created after changing the boundaries of the Vitebsk Gubernia and transferring the Gubernia centre to Polotsk) from subordination to the governor general of Vil'na and subjecting them directly to the Interior Ministry.[41] Admittedly, in both these cases the size of the Vil'na Gubernia would have increased: the first plan would have given it three districts from neighbouring gubernias (so that the "Lithuanian-Russian" influence would be stronger in the gubernia) and the second plan would have given it as many as four districts from the Kovno Gubernia (so that Vilnius "as a centre of higher Russian administration" would have an effect on this territory). Although the increase in the Vil'na Gubernia provided for in these plans would appear to mean that implementing these proposals could have increased the influence of Vilnius, the reduction in the area subject to the governor general of Vil'na's authority would allow us to say that here, in fact, the opposite would have been the case.

The aim of these and other proposals that are not recorded in detail here could be described as first and foremost an attempt to transfer part of the area from the NWP to other gubernias, and secondly, to reduce the territory of the former heartland of so-called Lithuanian lands (Vil'na, Kovno, and Grodno Gubernias) under the control of the governor general of Vil'na, which had been annexed by Russia after the Third Partition and which were regarded as being more Polish than Belarusian Gubernias.[42] Thus, in the opinion of officialdom, would Vilnius' zone of influence be diminished.

There were similar proposals later about reducing the size of the territory subject to the governors general of Vil'na until finally in 1869–1870 this was done with the Gubernias of Mogilev, Vitebsk and Minsk.[43] Such a decision was based on the following arguments: there were no longer any reason for joining these gubernias to the authority of the governor general of Vil'na, that is, order had been restored; the office of governor general did not guarantee political continuity, since each new governor general could repeal the decisions made by his predecessors; from the ethnic and confessional point of view these three gubernias differed from the "Lithuanian" gubernias, especially from Kovno, so there was no point in carrying out identical policies everywhere; the office of governor general granted unnecessary influence to the town of Vilnius:

> the unification of six gubernias under one central administration in Vilnius creates a community of interests between their populations, leads to



Fig. 6. *Vitebsk, mid-nineteenth century*

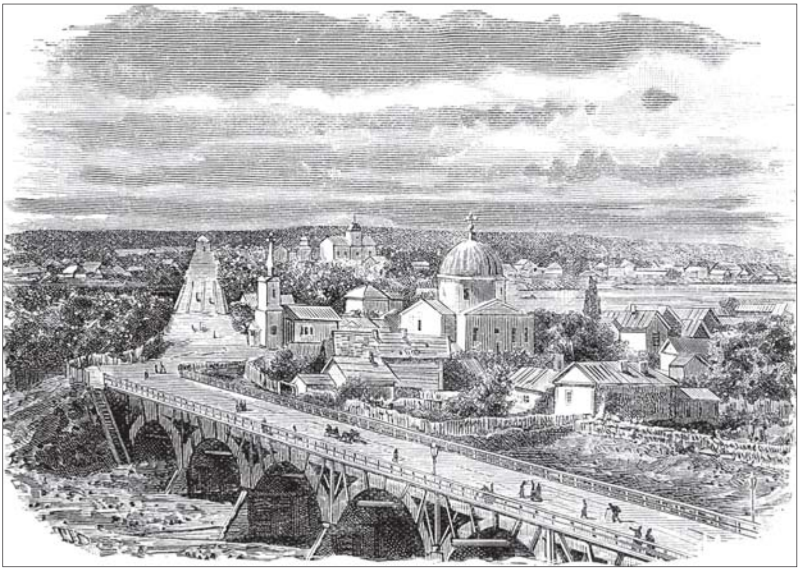


Fig. 7. *Mogilev, mid-nineteenth century*

> private relations of Mogilev's half-Poles and real Poles from Vilnius and Kaunas and makes them look to Vilnius, from which comes both mercy and punishment like a real capital of the whole territory. Vilnius as a centre of administration against healthy political developments, gives an opportunity for the borders to draw and assimilate centres of population like those of Mogilev and Vitebsk.[44]

The subordination of these gubernias to the Interior Ministry would be advantageous in so far as: "the consequences of transferring the centre of gravitation from Vilnius to Petersburg, would reduce the number of gubernias, which form a sort of special territory within the Empire."[45] Admittedly, discriminatory, primarily anti-Polish laws, passed after the Uprising of 1863–1864, remained in force in these gubernias.

When the idea of reducing the number of territories dependent on the governor general of Vil'na was discussed in 1869 the question arose naturally as to whether it would not be worth also reducing the size of the VED to separate it from the Belarusian gubernias. At that time the issue was discussed only concerning the Mogilev and Vitebsk Gubernias, but it is credible that the same problem would have been discussed with reference to the Minsk Gubernia. However, this was opposed by the VED authorities, which explained that unlike the office of governor general, which made Vilnius a regional centre, the centre of the Education District was not such a centre of gravity when there was no university, and all these six gubernias differed from the Great-Russian ones, because here educated society (the Poles) had been cut off from participating in the educational process and furthermore, there are Jewish schools.[46] Thus in this case more significance was given to the pragmatic aspect of the problem rather than the symbolic one.

However, it is known that there was an even more radical way of reducing the status of Vilnius as an administrative centre, namely the abolition of the office of governor general.[47] Rumours spread about it by the 1860s and 1870s.[48] One of the arguments expressed in the press of the day was that the office of governor general granted a given territory an almost autonomous status. According to the *Birzhevye vedomosti*,

> Vilnius with its monuments of past Polish lordship had a constantly important significance just because this town was the administrative centre of the whole North Western Province. Generally, the more the administration is centralised in the North Western Province, the more you make fast the link between its component gubernias, thereby sort

> of cutting them off from the general body of the Empire, making them *sui generis* exceptional locations which from the governmental point of view do not fall into the same category as the other gubernias.[49]

The second argument for abolishing this institution was connected not with geopolitical motives but with disagreements over nationality policy. Certain local officials in the NWP were supporters of a policy of aggressive Russification, and followers of the thought of governors general Murav'ev and Kaufmann, who were angry at what they called the pro-Polish policy of the new governor general Potapov (1868–1874) and they hoped that the institution would be abolished. Some of them, like the former VED inspector for the Kovno Gubernia, Nikolai Novikov, asked the influential publicist Katkov to popularize this idea in the *Moskovskie vedomosti* newspaper.[50]

In addition to administrative functions, the role of a town in a given region could be influenced, in the opinion of officials, as we have already mentioned, by the presence of a higher educational institution, especially a university. However, even Murav'ev, who realised that Russification policy required teachers and administrators, was not sure that such a high school should be in Vilnius, so in autumn 1863 he proposed establishing a university in either Vilnius or another town in the NWP. This thought was rejected most probably after it was received negatively by Katkov, but later the idea of founding a higher school continued to arise, even though the plans were not put into practice and one of the reasons for this failure was the fear lest Polish influence take root in such a school, especially if it were a university. In the early 1870s ideas were mooted only for setting up a university in the "Russian" towns of Polotsk or Vitebsk, but such plans also remained unfulfilled for a variety of reasons.[51]

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Governor Ivan Shestakov of Vil'na (1868–1869) summed up the imperial authorities' view of the NWP quite succinctly:

> You can only look at Lithuania politically in two ways: either as part of Russia or as part of Poland. A third view – as an autonomous territory – runs counter to history and common sense. A purely Lithuanian population is scarcely visible and merges with neighbouring Belarusian, Polish and Lettish populations.[52]

The policy of the Russian authorities in the 1860s sought to bring the first option into effect, that is to do all in its power to turn historical Lithuania in all its senses into the NWP. However, redrawing the administrative map or plans for such a redrafting in Lithuania and Belarus in the 1860s allow us to detect two views of the prospects for Russifying this region. The optimistic strategy, which was typical particularly of Murav'ev, sought to subject as large a territory as possible to the control of the governor general of Vil'na. The office of governor general along with the Education District centre, a Russian university or an Orthodox spiritual academy, were supposed to turn Vilnius into a centre of Russianness, which would dominate the region and from out of which Russification policy would spread. Representatives of the pessimistic strategy, which took ground from the end of the 1860s, did not believe they would succeed in transforming Vilnius from being a Polish centre to become a Russian one, and even though they did not spare their efforts to reduce Polish, and increase Russian influence in Vilnius and the area as a whole, at the same time officials and publicists, who held this view, made various proposals to reduce the territory of the NWP or at least the territory of the so-called Lithuanian gubernias and also protect the ethnic lands inhabited by Belarusians (whom they called more and more often simply Russians) from the influence of Polonicity.

II. The Search for a Nationality Policy Strategy in the Early 1860s

While earlier historians, especially the hagiographers of Murav'ev, regarded 1863 as marking a major watershed in the history of nationality policy in the NWP, in recent years scholars have come more and more to stress that even before the 1863–1864 Uprising the local authorities in the NWP, especially Governor General Nazimov, had proposed the adoption of an anti-Polish policy to the central authorities.[1] In addition, recently historians have drawn attention on several occasions to the various initiatives emanating from the Russian authorities and the intellectual elite which sought to apply a policy of "divide and rule" in the western borderlands of the empire at the beginning of the 1860s. Slavophile articles in the press, especially those penned by Aleksandr Hil'ferding, the move to establish the West Russian Association, and the 1862 discussion among the highest imperial ruling circles of an anonymous document urging such proposals, are just a few instances of this tendency.[2] These factors used to be analysed separately. Here we will attempt to show that these initiatives were in fact interlinked.

Historians have also paid particular attention to the Jewish problem in the context of the Polish Question.[3] Quite detailed analysis has been made of the imperial authorities' policy of granting Jews equal rights with Gentiles in the Kingdom of Poland as implemented by Aleksander Wielopolski, and so we will not investigate that matter here. Instead we will consider whether such reforms were possible within the Pale of Settlement, and if so, why they were not implemented. John D. Klier has drawn attention to this issue. He asserts that "the failure of Russian statesmen to employ the strategy of divisa et imperia reveals their lack of imagination and skill when dealing with the western borderlands."[4]

The fact that this chapter will discuss not only what kind of policy was followed by the imperial authorities in the NWP in the early 1860s, but also the various approaches to nationality policy entertained by the imperial elite, is connected with a desire to show that the imperial authorities did discuss various options and were able to make a deliberate choice between policy approaches and that the approach selected after the Uprising was not determined in advance.

Losing the Crimean War of 1854–1856 forced Russia into rapprochement with France, which encouraged the Romanov Empire to make concessions to the Poles. On the other hand, the defeat convinced the imperial elite that reforms were essential and that this required stability. Therefore the Russian authorities began to seek the means to make concessions to potential disrupters of the peace such as the borderland elites, including the Lithuanian

gentry. Certain appointments confirmed the hopes of the more conservative public activists. At the end of 1855 Nazimov was appointed as the new governor general of Vil'na. He had enjoyed a good reputation in the Western Province. The local social elite had good memories of him as chairman of the Investigative Commission in Vilnius in 1840–1841, which was intended to seek out a secret revolutionary movement, which had allegedly formed after the execution of Szymon Konarski. Despite pressure from the then governor general of Vil'na, Fedor Mirkovich, Nazimov came to the conclusion that no such secret organisation existed.[5]

At first it seemed that the hopes of the Lithuanian public would be justified. In 1856 martial law was abolished in the western gubernias; political refugees and exiles were allowed to return home and take up posts in public life; and Polish was allowed to be taught in schools and so on. Some of the concessions were also connected directly with Nazimov's favourable view of the Polonophone gentry. Censorship was relaxed, the governor general initiated discussions over the foundation of a higher education institution in Vilnius, and approved the application from Kirkor, a leader of the local cultural elite, to publish a journal.[6] In his memoirs one contemporary also mentioned that Nazimov's family began to learn Polish.[7] At that time the governor general of Vil'na was sending reports to St Petersburg, assessing the status quo in the provinces as calm.[8]

However, demonstrations began in the Kingdom of Poland which quickly spread to Lithuania in the spring of 1861 and this convinced the governor general that it was impossible to come to a compromise with the gentry. However, it may be that Nazimov had realised even before this that the Poles of the NWP would not be satisfied with the concessions the authorities were willing to entertain, and this led to increasing conflict. In the second half of the 1850s most members of the gentry were dissatisfied with the plans for a science-based high school [*real'noe uchilishche*] and sought to re-establish the university.[9] There is evidence that by 1860 he was proposing various measures to increase the amount of land in the region owned by Russians.[10] In the autumn of 1860 the tsar visited Vilnius and this occasion illustrated the widening gulf between the local gentry and the authorities. First of all the gentry refused to arrange a dinner in honour of the tsar – during Alexander II's first visit in 1858 such a dinner had been held. The tsar said he would not attend such a dinner, even if one were to be arranged. In addition the gentry wished to present a petition with demands, which the authorities were not willing to concede at that time.[11] Later there was further evidence that the authorities could not find common ground with the Polonophone gentry. In autumn 1861 or 1862, according to Nazimov, the gentry of the three Lithuanian

gubernias (Vil'na, Kovno, and Grodno), where dietines were supposed to be held, planned to petition Alexander II, demanding that he join the administration of Lithuania with that of Poland (one such dietine was supposed to meet in Minsk in September 1862 and so this gubernia is not mentioned here).[12] The Vil'na-gubernia gentry planned to justify this demand on historical grounds.[13] Dietines in the Podolia and Minsk Gubernias produced similar petitions in autumn 1862. Of course, the imperial authorities had no intention of joining the Western Province to the Kingdom of Poland. The claims of certain officials in the NWP, to the effect that little needed still to be done in the early 1860s to unite the Western Province and the Kingdom of Poland, were quite exaggerated and served only to make Murav'ev's role in pacifying the region appear more significant.

As Governor General Nazimov and other officials understood matters, the Poles and Jews formed two "alien" elements in the region.[14] Alienness in this case meant primarily that they were not *ab origine* inhabitants of the region. The Poles, according to Nazimov, were seeking to teaching the people Polish in order to win them to their side with the aim of cutting the province off from Russia.[15] Although most often he identified the whole of the gentry as Poles, on occasion he did "find" a Russian gentry too, but these people were also lumped together with the "Polish party."[16] This gentry aim to tear off Lithuania, which "is not Poland, but from olden days has been a Russian land," shows that "sincere reconciliation" between Russians and Poles in arguments over whom the Western Province belongs to was impossible.[17] If the gentry are listed as an enemy with which the government alone was unable to fight, new allies must be sought. Nazimov did not place great hopes in aid from local Russian society and in any case there would be only village school teachers and Orthodox clergy on whom to rely.[18]

Thus, seeing no serious allies in the NWP the governor general attempted to find ways to help change the ethno-political situation there. Nazimov not only adopted repressive measures against persons involved in anti-government activity but also put forward proposals to restore social order and block the way for any "rebellion" in the future. Reducing the Polish influence was supposed to serve this end – disloyal Poles were to move to the Kingdom of Poland; the same end was envisaged by proposing that the Polish language was to be banned in schools in Belarus and Little Russia [Ukraine], the economic and educational level of peasants was to be raised (by setting up people's schools, publishing journals for ordinary people, allowing peasants to purchase land without estate owners' consent, not sending the army to repress peasant discontent during any (general) uprising).[19] Russian influence was to be increased by setting up a Russian

university in the province after the discontent was quelled, the composition of civil service ranks was to be altered to ensure proportional representation for all national groups and the necessary Russians were to be invited from "Central Russia" until the number of local Russians was sufficient, Russian gentry were to be encouraged to colonise the area and so forth.[20]

Thus Nazimov was presented with one of the most difficult dilemmas to face the Russian political elite in the nineteenth century, namely that of finding an alternative to replace the former strategy aimed at maintaining imperial unity, which had been based on cooperation with the borderland elites.[21] One of the solutions available was to exploit the principle of "divide and rule."[22]

The national consciousness of the peasants (or Russians, as the officials termed them) was assessed in various ways. Officials from the VED administration apparently saw no great problems in mobilising the national potential of the peasantry: "Here [in Lithuania] we must restore the local ancient Russian nationality, which has been subject for centuries to an alien Polish element; we must give this nationality the significance, which belongs to it by right of history."[23] At that time Nazimov was more cautious. There was still the ordinary people but, according to Nazimov, the larger numbers of Orthodox Russians in comparison with the Poles could create a misleading impression. Although Nazimov noted that the "Russian element" had maintained its ethnic difference from the Poles despite attempts to Polonise it, even those who had changed religion:

> Catholicism and the Union [of Brest] cut the Russian element off from the womb of the Orthodox Church and have succeeded in removing them from the Russian national family in the sense of religious beliefs and rights which Catholic propaganda imposed on them by force, but their ways and customs have not been touched and their own national character has been weakened but not smothered where the masses of Russian people are concerned.[24]

Nazimov thought that in the future the people would be able to "express their protest" themselves against the unjustified gentry pretensions.[25] However, in the governor general's opinion this social group is not a force with self-motivation in Lithuania. Nazimov compares the people with children and describes them as apathetic or slumbering in a lethargic drowse; quite consistently the ordinary people are viewed as nationally non-self-determined and able to support either the government or the Poles.[26] In any case it is important to note that the ordinary people were regarded not only as peasants but also as Russians.[27]

Amendments to the peasant reforms in Lithuania and Belarus were supposed to help achieve the aims of the "divide and rule" policy. As we know, the decree of 1 March 1863 declared that as of 1 May that year the obligations of peasants to serve landowners would be abolished in the Vil'na, Kovno, Grodno and Minsk Gubernias and the Latvian part of the Vitebsk Gubernia. In addition peasants were granted the "privilege" of a 20-percent reduction in land prices. Later that same year this decree was applied in the SWP and the remaining part of the so-called Belarusian gubernias. This policy aim was intended to be served by certain cultural measures. In a text of February 1862, addressed to Alexander II, Nazimov proposed setting up so-called "people's schools" using Lithuanian and Žemaitijan languages as well as Russian, and permit popular journals to be published in these languages.[28]

During the first half of 1862 Nazimov was also prepared to contemplate the public use of Belarusian according to the Austrian model:

> it suffices for two texts to be published in the journal: Russian, or rather Belarusian, comprising the setting of the local Ruthenian dialect on paper in Russian characters, as has been achieved most successfully with the Lvov journal, *Slovo*.[29]

Here Nazimov not only mentioned a newspaper published in Austrian Galicia but also refers to the Belarusians by the ethnonym "Ruthenians," which was used in Galicia in reference to local Eastern Slavs. However, this reference to the situation in Austria as an example to follow was an exception. According to Dominic Lieven, the Russian elite contained no one who might have suggested adopting the Habsburg solution to the problems facing a polyethnic empire.[30] Russian bureaucrats widely believed (and not without justification) that Prussia (and later the German Empire) was implementing a policy of assimilation and that the Habsburg Empire was not a nation state and was inevitably following a policy of "divide and rule."[31] Austria (and after 1867 the Dual Monarchy) was regarded as a weak country and thus could not be accepted as a model for Russia to follow. Moreover, the Slavophiles had their own claims against the Habsburg Empire, which they regarded as having annexed the Slavs, primarily the Galician Ruthenians, unlawfully.[32] Nazimov himself was still proposing a policy of "divide and rule" a few months later, stressing clearly that the "ethnographic situation" was different in Russia and Austria: "the political interests of this state [Austria] would have suffered much from separating the nationalities in Galicia, where the Germanic element has been completely annihilated in relation to the mass of the dominant ethnic group."[33]



Fig. 8. *Aleksandr Hil'ferding (1831–1872)*

Barely ten days after Nazimov put forward his proposal State Secretary Vladimir Butkov communicated to the tsar the proposals laid down in a document from the secretary of the State Economic Department of the Council of State, Andrei Zablotskii-Desiatovskii, for how Russia might strengthen its influence in the Western Province.[34] We have no direct evidence that this document was connected with Nazimov's text, but we may suspect there was some link between the two proposals.[35]

Although Butkov asserts that one author was behind the proposals for nationality policy in the Western Province (namely Zablotskii-Desiatovskii), it is probable that this was the result of collective efforts. Such a conclusion is supported by his later initiatives and the fact that one of the most prominent contemporary Slavophiles, Hil'ferding, was working in Zablotskii-Desiatovskii's department at that time.[36] It may be that what we suspect to have been the result of collective efforts was presented as one person's initiative in the hope of gaining a more favourable response from the tsar. In order to consolidate the positive effect on the tsar Butkov further added that the then head of the Council of State and the Ministerial Committee, Dmitrii Bludov, and the minister of War, Dmitrii Miliutin, also supported the proposals. Alexander II was also asked to keep the author's name secret.

The ethno-political status quo presented in this text directly demanded a swift response from the authorities: if the authorities did not change their policy and not support "local elements," these and even the "ordinary Russian

people" might surrender completely to Polish influence. However, it was still not too late for the government to draw not only the Russians (i.e. Belarusians and Ukrainians) but also the Lithuanians to its side. The Lithuanians were referred to as "a tribe alien to Russians and Poles alike," which was also opposed to the Poles, who had exploited it and denigrated its nationhood. It appears that the author (or rather, authors) of the document was quite well-informed about this ethnic group, for he (they) notes that despite certain differences the Lithuanians and Žemaitijans formed a single group and in no way should they be called Poles. Thus the government should reject its former policy, which sought to destroy any special characteristic in the province, such as self-administration (in the Orthodox Church, for example) and viewed peasants, because of serfdom, through estate-owners' eyes. Also, to put the matter in modern academic terms, the government should undertake a policy of social engineering. A special role in this fell to education. It was proposed to set up as many schools as possible where teaching should be in the local languages; suitable textbooks and a translation of the New Testament were to be published.[37] There was a proposal to teach these "dialects" as a special subject in secondary schools and higher education institutions, have sermons preached, and laws and articles translated in local languages, which were not to be persecuted but treated on equal footing with the Great Russian language. Of course, putting such a policy into effect would have completely reshaped the formation of modern Eastern-Slav and Lithuanian nations. The author of the proposals said the government should not be afraid. He thought that what we would call the geopolitical consciousness of these national groups should be trusted:

> the tearing away of the Western Province supposes too an inevitable removal of the Kingdom of Poland; if there is a separate Poland, can there be consideration of an independent Lithuania and Little Russia between Poland and Russia? The people of West Russia sense very well that if they did not belong to the Russian state, they would belong once more to Poland.[38]

The reaction of Alexander II, judging by his comments on the Butkov document, was in essence positive, although in comparison with other expressions of the tsar's opinion, we could say he was not particularly enchanted with these proposals:

> I read this with great attention and find much in it that is right. Without naming the person who composed the document I sent it to the minister



Fig. 9. *Alexander II (1818–1881)*

> of the interior and I hope it will not be without use; furthermore I ask for my gratitude to be passed on to him.

However this type of ethno-cultural programme did not gain the approval of the Governor General of Kiev, Illarion Vasil'chikov, who had already encountered the Ukrainophile movement, or Nazimov, who had stressed the dark nature of the people and the danger that they could submit to the influence not only of the Russians but also of the Poles.[39] Even though Nazimov did not give a direct response to these proposals, the principles of nationality policy he put forward later allow us to discern his position.

In August 1862 Nazimov proposed that the authorities should issue a decree to the effect that:

> while respecting ethnic customs and regarding any ethnic compulsion, even in moral terms, as a *crime d'état*, and seeking to grant each ethnic group the freedom to develop without hindrance in the land it occupies in its specific forms and ways, we command: that Russian schools be built in areas, where Russians dominate; that teaching be carried out in Lithuanian and Žemaitijan where Lithuanians and Žemaitijans are dominant; and where the majority is Polish, teaching should be in Polish.[40]

Thus the governor general of Vil'na was proposing to diminish the area where Polish prevailed in education to the benefit of the Lithuanian and

Russian languages (but not Belarusian or Ukrainian). In other words, Nazimov was prepared to contemplate a so-called depolonisation policy where the Lithuanians were concerned, but in the case of the Eastern Slavonic population he maintained the view that the Russians were a nation of three peoples: Great Russians, Belarusians and Ukrainians, and he saw no need to tolerate the separate ethnic identities of these three groups.

However, even such an anti-Polish policy, which did not question the so-called tripartite Russian nation theory, but contained many populist elements, was unacceptable to the sector of the Russian elite (Interior Minister Valuev and the heads of the Third Department, Vasilii Dolgorukov and Petr Shuvalov), which defended the concept of the traditional imperial integration, based on the loyalty of the tsar's subjects, primarily the social elite. On the eve of the 1863–1864 Uprising these civil servants sought common ground with the Lithuanian gentry too (who in contemporary parlance were referred to as Poles). Thus it is no surprise that Valuev called the document presented by Nazimov "a manifesto of national honour à la Garibaldi."[41]

The view of more conservative members of the imperial elite towards the ways of resolving problems in the Western Province is illustrated by their discussions in 1861–1862 with conservative representatives from the Western Province's gentry (Wiktor Starzeński and Aleksander Lappo), who passed on the demands of the Lithuanian gentry.[42] At the end of 1862 Starzeński even managed to hand over the demands to Alexander II himself.[43] Starzeński suggested that the ruling elite form an alliance with the gentry in Lithuania on the basis of Slavophilism, since only Western Slavs (the Poles) could protect the Romanov Empire from the expansion of the Germanic World. These motifs allowed the petition's author to demand concessions for Lithuania: that the Lithuanian gentry should have their own representatives in St Petersburg, that education should suit local needs (*l'enseignement doit être local*), that is, it should be Polish, and that the foundation of various loan-, agricultural-, academic-, and literary associations be permitted and encouraged. Although several of Starzeński's proposals met with the tsar's approval, Alexander's reaction to the Slavophile aspect was severe: "That is an idea I have always opposed and I do so now more than ever because I see in this the splitting up and destruction of the Russian Empire." The demand to offer Slavonic nations increased chances to express themselves reminded the tsar of the aim of reorganising the Romanov Empire according to the US model: "yes, of course, they are dreaming of a federation of republics. What is happening at this time in the United States of America shows how little hope such dreams promise for the future."[44] The tsar also disapproved of the idea of restoring Vilnius University (which the imperial authorities had blamed for organising the 1830–1831 Uprising and

subsequently closed down) or setting up various associations. The imperial elite was unable to reach a compromise even with conservative elements within the Lithuanian gentry.

Changes in the nationality policy favoured by Nazimov are illustrated too by the proposals he made concerning the condition of local Jewry. In 1860 he proposed allowing Jews to take up agriculture. Local district gentry leaders were to be charged with supervising the project. This proposal appears to show that at that time the local Polish-speaking gentry (or their leaders) were regarded as suitable partners in moves to "re-educate" Jews. It seems that in 1861–1862 the governor general of Vil'na was already thinking about how to use the Jews as a counterbalance to the Poles. However, Nazimov's proposals for Jewish Policy were approved in St Petersburg only in part. Although governor general of Vil'na managed to ensure in the early 1860s that Jews not be removed from state-owned land despite the fact that they were not classed as farmers; on the other hand, we see quite clear differences of opinion among members of the civil service: Nazimov was inclined to regard this measure as unjust, where the property rights of Jews, state strategy and political calculations were concerned, and in effect he suggested it be revoked, but Minister of State Property Murav'ev considered it to be correct in principle and suggested putting a temporary halt to it only for the sake of political calm. In another case Nazimov did not gain support. St Petersburg paid no attention to Nazimov's proposal that Jews be allowed to rent state-owned farms in the future as a counterbalance to the Poles and because, unlike their fellow believers in the Kingdom of Poland, they were loyal to the state. The authorities alleged that Jews were incapable of farming. On the one hand, it seems that Nazimov, unlike Vasil'chikov, who initiated certain "privileges" for Jews (such as allowing them to obtain land), was more moderate, proposing simply not to worsen the conditions of the Jews, while, on the other hand, the governor general's comments hint that he was willing to consider reforms similar to those carried out by Wielopolski in the Kingdom of Poland.[45]

Around a year later, already after the beginning of the Uprising in the Kingdom of Poland and Western Gubernias, Alexander II once more received proposals from Zablotskii-Desiatovskii's group to adjust nationality policy in the Western Province. On 30 April 1863 the chairman of the Council of State, Bludov, approached the tsar with a request to permit the setting up of a West Russia Association.[46] It is probable that this time the presentation of a new initiative was connected with the change in governor general. At that time St Petersburg took a decision to replace Nazimov with a more zealous official, and this man of zeal was Murav'ev. According to D. Miliutin, on 19

April the public already knew about the change in governor general. It is probable that the founders of the Association expected the new governor's support, given the latter's political views:

> Murav'ev had the reputation of a severe, energetic man; his appointment signified a decisive turn round in the way the government would act in the Western Province and served as an eloquent response to defenders of the Poles at home and abroad.[47]

The foundation of the Association was explained as essential for preparing society for the struggle against enemy elements in the Western Province and it was supposed to research the situation and needs of the "West Russians" and Lithuanians, help set up schools, support people aiding Orthodoxy, publish books and, should need arise use local dialects, inform the Russian public about the condition of the Western Province. Although the Association's aims might appear at first glance to be a continuation of the proposals set forth a year earlier, on closer view we may see that the nationality policy programme, which had been proposed by Zablotskii-Desiatovskii's group, had been amended considerably. Although, unlike previous proposals, which among other things spoke about "Little Russians" [*narodnost' malorusskaia*], while now the term "Ukrainians" was used, they were now referred to, unlike the Lithuanians, not as an ethnic group or nationality [*narodnost'*] but only as an "element." In this case the usage is no accident. Unlike the proposals of February 1862, this time when there is reference to eastern Slavs there is a clear stress on the fact that the Association would take care "to foster Russian national sentiment" and so use was expected to be made of "local dialects" only in primary schools and only so that "mastering the Great Russian language would for local inhabitants be a matter of free conscience and at their own demand." It was also guaranteed, that "society will hold constantly in view the unity of the Russian nation in the unhindered development of all its local elements." Thus being Belarusian or Ukrainian were already regarded only as a *regional* form of Russian identity to be tolerated only in the first stage, when these elements had to be drawn away from Polish influence.

There were other proposals for dealing with the Lithuanians who, without a doubt, formed a "completely separate and *sui generis* nationality." According to the Association's founders, it was necessary to rely on the as yet small number of educated Lithuanians, who were in dispute with the Poles and looked to the Russians for assistance. They not only declared a clear conviction that

> only the awakening and development of the Lithuanian nationality can tear the land between the Neman [Nemunas] and the Dvina [Daugava] out of the hands of the Polish gentry and the Polish clergy and bind it to Russia with the firm bonds of internal unity,

but also proposed specific ways of achieving this, such as translating Orthodox religious books into Lithuanian for those Lithuanian Orthodox, who "yield to Catholic propaganda" because they cannot understand the Church Slavonic liturgy.[48]

The list of the Association's founders, which was also submitted to Alexander II, shows that this initiative, as Głębocki has noted with insight, was an initiative common to the Slavophiles and the "enlightened bureaucrats."[49] Here we come across not only Zablotskii-Desiatovskii and Hil'ferding but also the bedfellows of N. Miliutin, Stepan Zhukovskii and Dmitrii Obolenskii, one of the early members of the Russian Geographical Society, Petr Semenov, Professor Koialovich (who worked closely with Aksakov) and others.[50] Among other things, several of the founders of the association took an active part in drafting the reforms to abolish serfdom.

This project has another interesting aspect to it. As was noted in our introduction, there were no institutions in the Russian Empire to coordinate nationality policy in the modern sense. The West Russia Association, according to the plan, was expected in effect to become the institution responsible for coordinating nationality policy in the Western Province. In effect its area of activity was supposed to cover the remit of several departments, primarily the Education and Interior Ministries.

The time when the request was presented for the association to be founded seemed to many to be suitable for such actions. Only a few days after Bludov's petition, Education Minister Aleksandr Golovnin, who was not one of the Association's founders, as far as we know, but was close to them in his views, offered support to a proposal by one of the leaders of the Young Latvian Movement, the publisher of the *Pēterburgas Avīzes* newspaper Krišjānis Valdemārs, to publish a newspaper not only for Lithuanian peasants but also, most importantly, for Latvian Catholics in the Vitebsk Gubernia.[51] Such a newspaper was, according to Valdemārs, essential because Latvian Catholics had to be freed from Polish influence and in this respect the newspapers published for Latvians in the Baltic Gubernias were unsuitable:

> the majority of Latvian peasants in Vitebsk can read the Latvian primers published in Vilnius; these are in Latin characters with Polish spelling. The Latvians of Livonia and Courland have the printed German Gothic script. Thus a special newspaper is necessary for

> these Latvians with semi-Polish spelling for a start. The dialect differences between the Latvians in Vitebsk and Courland and Livonia are as great as those between the Great Russians and the Little Russians.[52]

The story of this project ended just when Golovnin asked for Murav'ev's opinion. Although Murav'ev in principle was not against such an idea, he decided that there was no time to check the Valdemārs' loyalty and his conclusion reveals the governor general's negative opinion: "I think that at present in would be better to hold back with this publication."[53]

Although Alexander II's resolution declared that the documentation relevant to the foundation of the Association were to be discussed in autumn 1862 by the Western Committee, which was supposed to coordinate the activities of various departments in the Western Province, we have no evidence that such discussions actually took place.[54] No such association was ever set up.

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Thus the imperial authorities' aim discerned at the beginning of the "Thaw" to come to a compromise with the Polonophone gentry in the Western Province or the Poles within the Kingdom of Poland, had fewer and fewer supporters among the ruling elite from the early 1860s. The Western Province's gentry made more and more demands until finally in 1862 they began to demand the administrative union of the Western Province with the Kingdom of Poland. Such demands were not even discussed in St Petersburg. The imperial authorities were inclined only to grant certain "privileges" to the Polonophone gentry such as the teaching of Polish in secondary schools and the establishment of some sort of higher education institution. Thus it comes as no surprise that the imperial authorities and influential campaigners began to consider what kinds of approach to take to anti-Polish policy. After the 1863–1864 Uprising, the participants in which sought to re-establish the Polish-Lithuanian State within its 1772 borders, the problem became even worse and officials were encouraged to take immediate measures.[55]

Nationalist categories in Russian official discourse from the early 1860s became stronger and stronger, that is, increasing stress was placed on the nationality of imperial subjects. This can be illustrated best in the Western Province, where the view taken by imperial civil servants that Belarusian peasants were a composite part of the Russian nation was strong.

However, the ruling elite did not have a unified strategy for nationality policy at that time where the Western Province was concerned. Part of the ruling-, and intellectual elites proposed an anti-Polish policy whereby other non-dominant national groups would be supported. Such proposals were made by Governor General Nazimov of Vil'na. At the same time the "divide and rule" approach was propagated by "enlightened bureaucrats" and some Slavophiles (led in this case by Hil'ferding). The analysis presented here allows us to say that the proposals from this group underwent considerable evolution: the 1863 proposals ruled out the plan to consolidate Ukrainian and Belarusian national consciousness, which had been included in the document of February 1862 and only the programme to depolonise the Lithuanians remained. Although the rejection of the policy of "divide and rule" in the NWP was in part connected with the stand adopted by the local authorities, there were broader reasons why the implementation of such a policy was obstructed.

First of all, at the time the Russian authorities were unwilling to contemplate Belarusian or Ukrainian identities even as a regional offshoot of Russian identity. Secondly, certain of the people behind the association imagined the problem of the Western Province as the conflict of two nationalisms, that is, the "whole Polish nation" against the "whole Russian nation": "in the fight, which stands before us, the administration should only play the role of a regular army and the nation must form, if not a *levée en masse*, then at least a national guard."[56] Meanwhile some of the highest-ranking imperial officials were still inclined to give priority to the traditional guarantors of imperial unity, primarily the monarchy, and they associated the mobilisation of Lithuanian, Belarusian and Ukrainian peasants against the Poles (that is, the gentry) with dangerous social experiments. Until the beginning of the 1863–1864 Uprising it appeared to the conservative part of the ruling elite that alliance should be sought with the Polonophone gentry of the Western Province.[57] The third reason in this case has already been connected not so much with the aims of nationality policy as with the means by which the Association sought to achieve its ends. Although more and more imperial bureaucrats took on board the rhetoric of modern nationalism, most of them viewed the various initiatives taken by the public with suspicion and prioritised factors controlled by the authorities. This was particularly typical of Governor General Murav'ev. One of the Russifiers noted with acumen how Murav'ev viewed his function: "here the head of the province should be both governor general and metropolitan, the guardian and head of literature and everything you desire" and in his actions Murav'ev did indeed confirm this characterisation.[58]

III. The Meanings of Russification

In today's language, both everyday and academic, Russification is usually taken to mean assimilation. In this case we must explain what meaning it was given by nineteenth-century Russian officials and publicists: should their meaning of the term be translated into modern usage as assimilation, or acculturation, or perhaps even integration?

In our introduction we noted that western and Russian historians have taken an interest in this issue, but Lithuanian scholars have ignored it.[1] This "failure to notice" the topic is connected with the dominant opinion that what the imperial authorities or publicists supporting them said or wrote does not matter; what matters is what they *did*.

In our attempt to explain what the term Russification meant in the 1860s public discourse is as important as official discourse. In this case discourse is understood to mean a way of speaking, be it established or still in the process of formation, about a certain subject; here the subject is national identity and how it could be changed. When analysing the nationality policy pursued by the Russian imperial authorities in the NWP after the 1863–1864 Uprising it is not enough to examine only official discourse (what officials or the tsar said about the matter). Just as important is public discourse, especially the periodical press, which was connected closely with one or other authority body and various groups among the ruling elite. Russian public discourse is also important because, as we noted in our introduction, although the Russian nationalism did support the tsar, its ideology was not adopted in full by the government and its forms of expression as a political movement were limited. Therefore the Russian National Movement was first and foremost a "community of discourse."[2]

Probably the most influential publicist of the day was Katkov, the editor of *Moskovskie vedomosti*. According to Andreas Renner, Katkov contributed most to the fact that in public discourse Russia would become identified increasingly with a modern nation state rather than a dynastic empire:

> What had been tsarist politics, Katkov named national politics; what had been the unity of the empire, he named a political nationality. Although formed from the Russian *narodnost'*, this political nationality included other *narodnosti* with equal (except political) rights within a common modern state. Political nationality thus replaced autocracy as the motor of Russian history and also as the objective of politics.[3]

In bureaucratic circles there was a quite widespread conviction that this newspaper reflected government views. At the end of the 1860s Shestakov,



Fig. 10. *Mikhail Katkov (1818–1887)*

who had been appointed governor of Vil'na, asserted that various friends of his had suggested before he left for the NWP that he visit Katkov and obtain his "blessing."[4] According to Murav'ev's secretary, Aleksandr Mosolov, reading *Moskovskie vedomosti* was as essential as carrying out one's official duties.[5] Articles from that newspaper were read just as carefully by officials in central institutions.[6] Thus it comes as no surprise that various NWP officials used to send Katkov confidential information, sometimes even in the name of Governor General Murav'ev, in the hope that his newspaper would have an effect on nationality policy.[7] Another influential newspaper was *Den',* edited by Aksakov. Various information was sent to this publication by Petr Bessonov, who held various posts in the NWP in the mid-1860s.[8] The more conservative *Vest'* was read more widely in the Kovno Gubernia at least.[9] The mouthpiece of the local authorities was *Vilenskii vestnik*. At the end of the 1860s the overseer of the VED, Ivan Kornilov, instructed that the



Fig. 11. *Aleksandr Mosolov (1844–1904)*

reports of some of his subordinates to be turned into articles for that newspaper.[10]

Thus in the 1860s it was often hard to distinguish between Russian official and public discourses. Publicist writing influenced the decisions taken by the authorities and officials used the periodical prints for the propagation of certain aspects of nationality policy.

We ought to begin our discussion of this topic with the realisation that people in the nineteenth century regarded the use of the term Russification [*obrusenie*] as being problematic. Thus, at the height of his discussion with *Vilenskii vestnik* Aksakov noted that his opponents from the Vilnius newspaper used the term without explaining what they meant by it, "leaving the readers themselves to understand what clear meaning to attribute to this word, which says nothing by itself."[11]

It is interesting that the influential dictionary compiled by Vladimir Dal' gives a very brief definition of both *obrusit'* [Russify] and *obrusit'sia* [become

Russian] as “to force someone to become, or become Russian (oneself).” Meanwhile the verbs *opoliachit’* [Polonise] and *opoliachit’sia* [become Polish] are explained at greater length: “to force someone to become, or become Polish (onself) according to language, customs or beliefs.”[12] We might deduce that the verbs *obrusit’sia* and *obrusit’* were presented in this concise manner not because what they meant was obvious to all but rather because in Russian discourse at that time they had many meanings.

Moreover, in those cases where there was talk of nationality policy towards non-dominant national groups other terms were used just as often as Russification, namely rapprochement [*sblizhenie*], merger [*slianie*] and assimilation [*asimiliatsiia*]. Sometimes we can even say that these terms were used as synonyms. Thus in one article from *Vilenskii vestnik* all three terms were used interchangeably.[13]

Although there were instances when officials and publicists even showed that the aim of imperial Russian policy in this region was to Russify specific national groups, we must concur with Weeks that in official correspondence between civil servants the term Russification was used not in connection with a specific non-dominant national group but with the region itself.[14] In other words there was often talk of “Russifying the region.”

Moreover, according to officials, imperial nationality policy as carried out in the region should strictly in all fairness be better called depolonisation, that is, it sought to protect the ordinary people from Polish and Catholic influence and remove those “excrescences” [*narosty*] which had formed unnaturally in the life of the populace. This policy was supposed to hinder not only the spread of “alien” influence but also, according to Murav’ev, take pains to “spread and consolidate Russianness among the inhabitants of towns and villages and support Orthodoxy in the region, which hitherto has been under the strong influence and yoke of alien religion and politics.”[15] Thus, for example, as VED Overseer Kornilov understood matters, educating the Lithuanians was supposed to “restore their previous fraternal relations with the Russians.”[16] In other words, imperial officials were wont to describe their actions as the restoration of historical justice.

However, this rhetoric, in our view, is not a clear or sufficient argument to justify the thesis that the authorities did not implement a policy of assimilation. First of all, the very term “Russifying the region,” as Aksakov himself remarked, was often used without thinking about what it meant. “After this formula was created, public opinion calmed down, without examining the meaning of these two words, nor the means for carrying out this task, in greater depth.”[17] In order to understand the significance of the rhetoric used by officialdom we must pay attention to what today would be

called political correctness, and begin from the historical concept which began to be propagated consistently after the 1830–1831 Uprising.

At that time the Education Ministry was taking pains to provide historical grounds to justify the annexation of GDL territory by the Russian Empire. As the programme for history textbooks approved by the ministry says, up until then Russian history from the mid-fourteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century spoke only about "Eastern Russian" history. Meanwhile it was necessary to show the historical development of all Russian lands, including "Western Russia," which meant the lands first ruled by Russian princes, which then fell under Lithuanian control and later, after "Western Russia" was united with Poland, they became in effect a Polish domain belonging to the Commonwealth of the Two Nations.[18] At first, until they were joined to Poland, these lands developed naturally, even under the rule of Lithuanian princes, and the state was in fact Russian. This is how *Vestnik Zapadnoi Rossii* (first published in Kiev and later transferred to Vilnius) described the period between the thirteenth century and the Union of Horodło (1413):

> A Russian element clearly lived in Lithuania. Lithuanian princes adopted the Orthodox Faith, married Russian princesses, and married their daughters off to Russian princes; Lithuanian princes, whose mothers were Russian, drank in the Russian way of life along with their mothers' milk and from childhood they acknowledged the Orthodox Faith and were brought up in the spirit of Russian nationality; in the grand duke's court they spoke the language of the grand duchess and this [Russian] language acquired civil rights in courts of justice; laws were written in Russian and courts were held in Russian.[19]

All the country's troubles began with the Union of Krėva (1385) and especially the Union of Lublin (1569).

The main propagator of this concept of history was Nikolai Ustrialov. As Zita Medišauskienė, who has made a detailed study of Russian censorship in the former GDL lands, says, it was Ustrialov's opinion which determined the fate of all historical works falling into the censors' hands, even though the man himself did not hold any post in the censor's office.[20] Ustrialov's "History of Russia" [*Russkaia istoriia*] was printed more than once and his name is associated with a change in the paradigm of Russian historical interpretation: unlike Nikolai Karamzin, who primarily wrote a reflection on the development of the history of the Russian state and its dynasty, Ustrialov wrote a national history, where the greater role was played by the nation

rather than the state.[21] Thus the annexation of this region by the Russian Empire is nothing less than a "re-union" [*vossoedinenie*] and according to this view Russian rights to this territory differ from the rights claimed by Prussia to Poznań, which were based on force alone.[22] Therefore Russia's rights to these lands were based on historical rights (once upon a time they belonged to Russian princes) as much as the national (Russian) composition of the population.

Simply officials allotted the whole of the NWP, including ethnic Lithuanian territories, to an ethnic Russian territory, that is, a region which historically and ethnically had been Russian:

> at the beginning of Russian history the area of the modern Kovno Gubernia was occupied by a completely Russian population. By the eleventh century immigrants of Lithuanian descent from what is now Prussia began to settle there under pressure from Poles and Germans.[23]

This ethnic Russian territory, which was smaller than the empire was the place where the Russian national project was supposed to be implemented.

Admittedly, until Murav'ev became governor general of Vil'na there were also other texts available, which did not describe the whole of the NWP as an ethnic Russian territory. Thus the influential Slavophile, Aksakov, referred to the "Western Russian Province" in early 1863 in the pages of *Den'* as comprising the gubernias of Podolia, Volyn, Mogilev, Minsk, Vitebsk (apart from four of its districts) and part of the gubernias of Vil'na and Grodno.[24] In this instance Aksakov was guided by the religious principle, whereby Catholic areas were not regarded as Russian territory.[25] More and more often officials and publicists had no qualms about allotting ethnic Lithuanian land to the Russian part of the empire and there were even cases where they called Lithuanians "Slavs."[26]

In Russian national discourse on rare occasions notice was taken too of that section of gentry from former GDL lands which cherished the cultural and historical idea of the separateness of these lands from the Kingdom of Poland. One participant in the anti-Polish campaign noted that there was an essential difference between Poles in the SWP and NWP:

> the Poles in Lithuania and Belarus have their own history, their own tradition of an independent state and this means they have their own desires, their own clear interests and aims, which do not permit them to have complete solidarity with the interests and aims of the Kingdom

> of Poland: the land of their fathers is Lithuania, not Poland. It is different in the South West Province, where the Poles do not have their own base; all the traditions of their fatherland, state and political independence are connected inextricably with Poland.[27]

While this tendency was noted, it still did not inspire trust. Thus Professor Koialovich admitted that a small "party" had formed in the first half of the nineteenth century comprising the historians Ignacy Daniłowicz, Teodor Narbutt and Józef Jaroszewicz, who did not regard themselves as Poles and cherished the idea of regional independence. According to Koialovich, this idea had no prospects because "Western Russia" could not even think of independence. If Polish civilisation dominated the region and, according to the professor, the above-mentioned historians would not reject this, the region would inevitably merge with Poland.[28] Thus ordinarily all the gentry of the NWP should be called Poles. In Russian discourse at that time an image of the NWP was being formed as historically and ethnically Russian lands dominated by a Polonised gentry.

In official documents as well as the local and central press Polish policy in the former GDL lands, or "Western Russia," as the area was called in contemporary Russian discourse, had been to attempt to use all conceivable means to Polonise the local Russians and this Polish policy was described by such words as *sovrashchenie* ["seduction," "perversion"] and sometimes it was even asserted that Polonisation was particularly successful during the first half of the nineteenth century.[29] The actions of such Poles were condemned for drawing the ordinary people of Western Russia away from their innate and just course of development.

However, at the same time this Russian historical canon propagated another line, namely imperial officials and publicists, while condemning Polish actions, acknowledged that they were effective. It comes as no surprise to discover that from time to time, when discussing the introduction of Russian into supplementary Catholic services, various local civil servants suggested acting in the same way as Poles had acted before.[30] As we have already noted, their policy was usually described as aiming to Polonise the local ordinary people.

We come across this historical narrative in documents written by Governor General Murav'ev too. "According to the local majority population and historical rights the Western Province is Russian land and has always been the property of Russian rulers."[31] The governor general was anxious that this province be recognised officially as "completely Russian, the ancient property of Russia."[32] Moreover Murav'ev initiated the writing of a history



Fig. 12. *Mikhail Murav'ev (1796–1866)*

textbook for schools in the NWP. In Murav'ev's opinion this textbook was supposed to illustrate the fate of the Russian nationality in the NWP and demonstrate how they were defending their Orthodox Faith, language and customs from "Polish-Catholic propaganda."[33] Another move on Murav'ev's part was to reorganise the Antiquities Museum, which took care to preserve and exhibit relics of "the Polish nation which is alien to this region." The museum was reorganised to show that the "Russian nation" [*russkaia narodnost'*] and Orthodoxy had inhabited the land from days of old.[34]

Thus the above-mentioned historical canon formed an understanding of what today we would call political correctness. Polonisation as a policy of force removing innate values from local people, primarily the peasantry, could only be condemned in Russian discourse. Exactly the same evaluation was valid too for Germanisation or Russification:

> if government and public policy in the western gubernias can be called Russification, understood as a counter to Polonisation, it should provoke the same feelings of scorn and anger, which are aroused in us by the memory of the basic Jesuit-inspired Polonisation policy to which Western Russia fell victim.

Therefore the author of these words (Governor Mikhail Obolenskii of Kovno) proposed calling Russian policy in the NWP not Russification [*obrusenie*]

but de-Polonisation [*raspoliachenie*].[35] He was seconded by the Governor General of Vil'na, Potapov, who thought that the government's aim in the NWP should be to

> depolonise the region and that 'Russification' should be rejected at least in those areas where a local population of a self-dependent ethnic group was dominant and all care should be taken and efforts made to renew this group for self-dependent development.[36]

Moreover, as we have seen, the governor general of Vil'na placed this word in quotation marks.[37] Of course, both of these officials proposed reviewing nationality policy after 1863 in the NWP and give up certain discriminatory measures that had been directed against "people of Polish descent," and so we could say that they were proposing to change policy as well as rhetoric. Even considering this circumstance, the quotations provided here show quite well that the term Russification could have negative connotations in Russian discourse, especially in cases where it was compared with Polonisation.

When officials and publicists used the term Russification another problem arose which had more to do with logic. As we have noted, on Murav'ev's initiative the Western Committee announced that the province was "completely Russian, the ancient property of Russia." If this was a Russian province, why Russify it? Of course, attention was drawn to this lack of logic by members of the ruling elite or publicists, who considered that the empire's unity could and ought to be safeguarded not so much by assimilating subjects as by fostering their loyalty. In effect Interior Minister Valuev drew attention to this logical lapsus in his comments on the document by Murav'ev dated 15 May 1864. Although he did not actually use the term Russification, the minister asked how it was possible to reconcile the general use of force in order "to raise the significance of Russianness and the Russian Orthodox Church in the Western Province," as proposed by the governor general of Vil'na, with the acknowledgement that this province had been "completely Russian from days of old."[38] However, even the Russifiers themselves could see this logical slip and so some of them suggested making use instead of the term "depolonisation" [*raspoliachenie*].[39] On the other hand, an explanation was found in the historical narrative we have already mentioned: Russification was necessary because the Russians here had been Polonised for a long time.[40]

However, the thoughts set down here do not deny the need to research the meaning of Russification in Russian national discourse, especially since

official documents often mention "Russifying the province," and certain publicists had no qualms about using this term in relation to specific non-dominant national groups and even attempted to explain what it meant.

First of all, it should be said that most often Russification was explained as an active policy on the part of the authorities towards non-dominant national groups. In other words, Russification was supposed to take place according to the rules set down by the authorities and, if we may put it this way, the object of Russification (people of other national groups) was given a more passive role. Indeed, sometimes non-dominant national groups were called just that: "subjects who are to be Russified."[41]

Often in the Russian press it was admitted that the efforts of the authorities would not suffice to Russify people of other nationalities and that it was essential to involve Russian society itself in this activity.[42] The imperial bureaucrats considered that very important support for the authorities could be provided by a university, but, as has already been noted, the authorities feared setting up a university in the province lest it become a hotbed of Polish activity. On the other hand, we ought to say that the NWP authorities regarded the establishment of Russian public organisations with suspicion at the very least.

The most ardent Russifiers, such as VED Inspector Novikov, considered that even officials coming to the NWP from the interior gubernias were not completely mature in their understanding of nationality. However, working in the province, especially as they came up against people of other nationalities who were opposed to them, would be a sort of school for them and help them understand better the essence of Russianness and turn them into real Russians.[43]

It should also be stressed that Russification at that time had different meanings in Russian discourse depending on how being a Russian was defined. In Slavophile texts Russianness was connected first and foremost with Orthodoxy, while Katkov's ideology stressed language as the most important denominator for nationality. One of the most heated discussions to take place between these two camps concerned defining who was a Russian and how changing nationality should be understood. Slavophiles explained that only a convert to Orthodoxy could be a Russian.[44] In 1866 this view was upheld by *Vilenskii vestnik*.[45] Meanwhile Katkov asserted that a person of a different religion [*inoverets*] could be a Russian because the most important consolidating force was language: "language is the most important thing in the matter of Russification."[46]

Furthermore, sometimes in the mid-nineteenth century the term which concerns us here could be accompanied in Russian nationality discourse by

some other qualificatory word. For example, it was written that the province must be "Russified *completely*."[47] This implies that the Russifiers themselves did not understand Russificiation *per se* as meaning the complete conversion of people of other nationalities into Russians, that is, assimilation. Russification was sometimes understood by people at the time as acculturation or integration. Thus in 1867 *Vilenskii vestnik* wrote on more than one occasion that various "degrees of Russification" were possible and that alongside "real Russians" [*vpolne russkii*] there could be people who had not undergone all "degrees of Russification," such as "Russified Poles."[48] The multifaceted meaning of this term could be stressed even more, if we take a look at how Russification was understood, when applied to specific groups of people of other nationalities.

We can see a tendency, when the aim of Russification was formulated depending on the cultural proximity of a particular non-dominant national group to the Russians. In the cultural sense in the NWP Jews formed the group which was most alien to the Russians. In 1867 *Vilenskii vestnik* wrote clearly that Poles should be Russified more strongly than the Jews.

> In the Jewish case our aim should be to assimilate them enough to make them less alien to us (as is the case even on the banks of the Vistula or at the source of the Western Dvina); for the destruction of the Polish idea, especially in the local case, the Russification of the Poles to a greater or lesser degree is necessary.[49]

Similar views were expressed in the St Petersburg publication, *Birzhevye vedomosti*, which remarked that from the historical and cultural point of view Jews differed markedly from Russians and what is more they did not oppose government policy and so Russifying them could not "be as swift and complete as Russifying the remaining mass of inhabitants in the Western Province."[50] Thus we could say that in the Jewish case, Russification most often meant integration and acculturation in the discourse of the day rather than assimilation.

As we can see from the quotations given above, at that time in Russian discourse there was also talk about Russifying the Poles. Kaufman, who replaced Murav'ev as governor general of Vil'na, was renowned for probably the most radical anti-Polish rhetoric. In 1865 he visited all the gubernias in the NWP and repeated to the gentry everywhere that they "must become Russian in sentiment and thought" or "Russians from head to toe;" "no other nationality is possible here except being Russian," he said, and that if the local gentry did not obey this imperative they would be treated as

foreigners and forced to leave this province.[51] The complicated interpretation of these speeches is illustrated by the fact that Kaufman's speeches oppose foreigners to Russians. Logically foreigners should be the opposite of Russians, that is, subjects of the Russian state. It follows on logically that Kaufman was seeking to turn the Poles into subjects of the Russian state, in the sense of making them loyal to the authorities. In this case the situation is more complex. The term foreigner or other versions of the word did not refer necessarily in nineteenth-century Russia to citizens of another state. According to Kappeler, the term *inozemets* in previous centuries meant not only foreigners but also subjects of the state who were not Russians, Christians included.[52] Moreover, the Department for the Religious Affairs of Foreign Confessions within the Interior Ministry dealt with all confessions within the empire apart from the Orthodox Church. Furthermore, as has already been mentioned, the Western Province was regarded not only as a component part of the empire but also as an ethnic Russian territory. In this case a foreigner is not being counterbalanced by a subject of the Russian Empire but by an inhabitant of a nationally monolithic territory with its aboriginal population.[53] On the basis of this logic becoming a Russian can be understood in the ethno-cultural sense, that is as acculturation or even assimilation. Such a thesis would be supported by Kaufman's demand of the Poles that they "become Russians in sentiment and thought," or "become Russians from head to toe." In further chapters we will examine whether this conclusion, based as it is on analysis of rhetoric, can be confirmed.

Officials avoided applying the term Russification to dealings with Belarusians, whom, as we have already said, they called Russians. Miller has described an interesting instance, when Alexander II was inclined in 1862 to speak of the Russification of gentry and city dwellers but not of peasants, that is, Belarusians and Ukrainians.[54] Publicists were freer in their behaviour and often explained how Russification should be understood. As we have noted above, this task, which at first sight appears to have been illogical, was explained by the fact that local people had been Polonised for a long time. Thus many Russifiers approved the thoughts of an author, whose pen name was "the Belarusian," as they were printed in *Den'*, the Slavophile newspaper. He wrote that if anyone needs Russifying in the Western Province it should be Catholic peasants. This should be done by spreading Orthodoxy (in other words, by forcing them to convert to Orthodoxy).[55] There are differences of opinion on this issue too. *Vilenskii vestnik* explained this situation as reorganising the daily life of local peasants "along Great Russian lines."[56] In other words the newspaper was in favour of total cultural

homogenisation. Meanwhile the Slavophile press and supporters of this ideology propagated the idea that Russifying the Belarusians should not lead to the complete destruction of regional differences.[57] Koialovich spoke out quite eloquently against making the Western Province uniformly Great Russian in culture:

> certain lower authorities in Western Russia are making the ordinary people change their dress and hair style according to the Great Russian model, and are bored of hearing the Little Russian or Belarusian dialect and demand that peasant officials and pupils in people's schools *must* always speak the *literary* Russian language.[58] [stress as in original]

Meanwhile we do not come across assertions in Russian discourse at that time that Lithuanians or Latvians must be Russified. If there is writing on this issue, it is usually about a process that would take place naturally without greater efforts on the part of the authorities.[59] Among other things this shows that the local authorities, let alone the central ones or the Russian press, did not regard these non-dominant national groups as a great problem or a hindrance to "Russifying the province."

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Thus after the suppression of the 1863–1864 Uprising "Russifying the province" became an inextricable and very important part of the normative language in the NWP and also the SWP. At the same time we must state that officials, unlike publicists, avoided describing policy as the Russification of specific national groups because this term, like Polonisation, had negative connotations in Russian national discourse. In other words, by condemning Polonisation as an incorrect action seeking to denationalise the aboriginal inhabitants of the province, it was impossible to give a positive connotation to the analogous term of Russification.

According to the dominant historical canon, this province was both historically and ethnically Russian and so bureaucrats were prone to describe their policy as the restoration of historic rights, that is, depolonisation. Thus, to use today's terminology, political correctness had an influence on Russian national discourse at that time. This means that, when seeking to explain imperial nationality policy in this region, it is not enough to analyse only official and public discourse, even though such analysis is also useful.

In the discourse of those days Russification could be understood in various ways, as assimilation, acculturation or integration. This term had different meanings with regard to different national groups within the NWP. In the Belarusian case it most often meant assimilation; in the case of the Jews, acculturation and integration; in the Polish case it meant most often political integration although some times this was more like assimilation. In the case of the Lithuanians or Latvians the term Russification was used seldom.

IV. Separating "Them" from "Us." Definitions of Nationality in Political Practice

However important an analysis of the term Russification may be, as we have seen, it is not enough to help us understand the nuances in how imperial civil servants thought in national terms. In texts by Russian publicists, historical studies and even official correspondence in the middle of the nineteenth century we can find the most varied of assertions and sometimes we may get the impression that quotations from that period can be used to justify any claim about the aims of Russian nationality policy of the day.[1] So when we wish to explain which criteria were regarded by the bureaucrats themselves as being the most important denominators of nationality and how, in their view, it was possible to change national identity, we must examine how nationality categories functioned in practice. As we know, especially after the suppression of the 1863–1864 Uprising the imperial authorities applied many laws and legislative acts, which discriminated against certain groups (first and foremost the Poles and Jews) and in favour of others (Russians and the Baltic Germans).[2] Thus officials were compelled not only to define nationality in theory but also to apply their definitions in specific cases (of individuals or groups).

In this chapter we will analyse how imperial officials conceived of nationality and the possibilities of changing it in the area of landownership (restricting the sale of private land and collecting percentage taxes), replacing lower-ranking officials and teachers, restricting the number of Poles in educational institutions, collecting and publishing statistical data about the national composition of the population of a given area and finally we will explain how Jews were identified.

Prohibitions Concerning Landownership

The most important element of private property in the Russian Empire in the mid-nineteenth century was land. Furthermore, the categories of modern nationalism, which were taking stronger and stronger root in Russian official discourse at the time, also gave special significance to land, which they now regarded as belonging to the Nation. Therefore the reduction or complete elimination of the Polish presence in landownership became an important element of imperial nationality policy in the Western Province.

A considerable amount of research has been done into this topic. Most often historians have taken an interest in decisions taken by the authorities to attract Russian landowners or peasants to the Western Province and the formulation and application of discriminatory measures against "persons of

Polish descent."[3] Admittedly, there has also been work attempting to explain how the concept of who was a Pole or a Russian functioned as far as landownership was concerned.[4] However, usually this research has been based on analysis of legislative acts or published sources regulating landowneship in the Western Province. In this case we will make use of archival sources, which show how these legislative acts were applied in practice. In other words, we will be able to analyse not only how ministers or governors general understood nationality categories but also how these matters were viewed by lower-ranking officials. Moreover, we will pay special attention to the origin of terms used in official discourse to define one national group or another (such as "person of Polish descent"). We will examine the concepts of the nationality of the gentry and peasantry in Russian discourse.

Discussion began of projects to encourage Russian gentry to colonise the Western Province not after the 1863–1864 Uprising but at a considerably earlier date. In the 1830s already the Western Committee discussed an anonymous document, which was later sent to the governor general of Vil'na too. It proposed *inter alia* to move landowners "of Polish descent" to the so-called interior gubernias of the empire, from whence Russian landowners would be invited westwards.[5] At the beginning of the 1860s Governor General Nazimov also proposed on several occasions that the authorities set about colonising the province with Russians.[6] Proposals were also sent to St Petersburg to move all the province's landowners, who regarded themselves as Poles, to the Kingdom of Poland.[7] Admittedly, such radical proposals aroused a negative reaction not only from Interior Minister Valuev but also from certain influential publicists.[8]

The Uprising that began in 1863 made this question relevant again. The Russian authorities' aims in landownership matters in the 1860s were outlined clearly by Nazimov during his last days as governor general of Vil'na in April 1863.[9] Moreover, Nazimov considered that it would be useful to encourage the movement not only of landowners but also of peasants and townsfolk to the province from the Great-Russian gubernias.[10] As has been noted, he no longer believed by that time that the Poles would become the empire's faithful allies. In other words, their influence had to be reduced so that "rebellions" would not be repeated in the future. The governor general of Vil'na also was made anxious by the prospect that this province, like other parts of the empire, would be given self-administration, since in such a case power would be in the hands of the local landowners. Meanwhile, the government could only entrust the administration of this province to Russians. Finally, Nazimov admitted that even Russian landowners were often influenced by the situation in the Western Province and became Polonised. Such a fate was predicted

for wealthy peasants who would "merge" with the gentry. Thus the authorities should ensure that wealthy peasants became Russians, not Poles. This was yet another motive to encourage colonisation by Russian landowners. The same motives for anti-Polish policy with regard to landownership were repeated by other officials in later years.

While he was governor general of Vil'na between 1863 and 1865, Murav'ev constantly stressed that in the NWP the authorities could rely only on the peasantry, even though he was afraid that peasants who grew rich might find a rapprochement with the gentry, and so he strove to ensure that a peasant farm did not become the property of only one member of the family.[11] Meanwhile, in the governor general's opinion, they could not trust the Poles, despite their declarations of loyalty to the tsar, and they would remain "our eternal foes":

> Of course it is impossible to rely completely on their declarations of sentiment. Poles are always rebellious, irresponsible and submit as easily to strong, energetic authority as they are impudently independent given the slightest sign of weakness. Oldest experience has shown that they must be held strongly and that under no circumstance can the slightest weakness be shown in administration. Landowners of Polish descent and the gentry are being incited by the Roman Catholic clergy and will be our eternal foes.[12]

Murav'ev and a considerable number of other officials did not believe in the possibility that landowners in the NWP could be assimilated, neither did they see any prospects in the political sense for turning them into subjects loyal to the tsar.

Thus Murav'ev set about moving Russians to the NWP. The governor general planned not only to bring landowners from central Russia but also peasant colonists.[13] When planning colonisation in the NWP by Russian landowners, Murav'ev sought to settle them in groups, for otherwise they would submit to Polish influence and become Polonised.[14] He took pains to see that officials and retired lower-ranking officers would gain land. At the same time land was supposed to be granted to peasants, including Old Believers, to whom he gave priority over German colonists, for example.[15] In order to encourage Russians to obtain land in the Western Province a decree was issued on 3 March 1864 allowing anyone, except "persons of Polish descent" and Jews to claim concessions when acquiring estates in nine western-province gubernias.[16] After Murav'ev left office as governor general an instruction was confirmed, which gave state-owned land, including

confiscated land and property in towns, on easy terms to officials who had served in the Western Province and to other "persons of Russian descent," who had been good civil servants.[17]

At first not all Murav'ev's proposals met with approval in St Petersburg. The Western Committee did not approve the governor general's proposal that the authorities sell not only confiscated estates to Russians but also sequestrated ones as well as those on which debts had not been repaid on time to the banks.[18] In the opinion of most members of the Western Committee, which was also supported by the tsar, putting these proposals into effect would mean acting contrary to the sequestration process and would be against the principles of justice in general.[19]

This failure on the part of Murav'ev, it seems, forced Kaufman, his successor, to act very cautiously. He sent his considerably more radical proposals concerning landownership to Governor General Aleksandr Bezak of the SWP and State Property Minister Aleksandr Zelenoi, who had already supported Murav'ev's proposals.[20] In this way, by showing that he was not the only one to favour radical land reforms, the governor general of Vil'na hoped to influence Alexander II. Kaufman thought that the province was rebellious and would remain so while four fifths of the land belonged to Poles. The governor general considered that the forced sale of confiscated estates (of which there were around 200 in the NWP) or land owned by persons, who had been exiled from the province, who owned around five percent of all land in the NWP, would not reach breaking point in one to three years and the aim would not be achieved. Therefore he proposed that only "persons of Russian descent and Orthodox or Protestant religion" should be allowed to purchase the two categories of estate mentioned above and property in towns, which had belonged to "persons of Polish descent." The governor general hoped that Russian landowners would come not only with their families but also their servants, and that they would be followed by peasants. The phrase "persons of Russian descent and Orthodox or Protestant religion" means that the privilege was open not only to ethnic Russians but also Baltic Germans, whom Kaufman regarded as being politically trustworthy and conservative as well as being able to provide a good example to the Russians through their exemplary farming methods. Admittedly, this privilege for the "German element" was not to be valid in the Kovno Gubernia because of the area's geopolitical situation and the fact that there were no Russians there at all. Kaufman was afraid lest "because of the border with Prussia, the German element be drawn to unite with the German race in general and become the dominant element and hinder people of Russian nationality from obtaining estates" in the Kovno Gubernia.[21] Similar proposals were put

forward with Kaufman's encouragement by the Governor General of Kiev, Bezak.[22]

After State Property Minister Zelenoi reported on these proposals twice to the tsar, Alexander II instructed a special discussion to be held, as a result of which a decree was issued on 10 December 1865 saying that "persons of Polish descent" were prohibited from acquiring estates in the Western Province other than by inheritance, and that the estates of sequestrated or exiled "persons of Polish descent" must be sold to "persons of Russian descent of Orthodox religion and those of Protestant religion."[23] The said discussion revealed disagreements between high-ranking officials, which showed that there were not only two different strategies for Russifying the Western Province but also certain problems, which emerged later, when it became necessary to identify "persons of Polish descent" or those who should be classified as "persons of Russian descent and Orthodox and Protestant religion."

Most of those taking part in the above-mentioned discussion (the chairman, Prince Pavel Gagarin, Finance Minister Mikhail Reitern, Interior Minister Valuev, Third Section Chief Dolgorukov, Second Section Chief Viktor Panin), who favoured the traditional strategy of imperial unity, which sought not so much to homogenise the borderlands culturally as to ensure the loyalty of the gentry above all to the tsar, opposed all discrimination against the Poles because they stood by the concept of justice then dominant. They asserted that part of the Polish gentry was loyal to Russia and the tsar and that such discrimination was based on religious affiliation rather than crimes that had been committed or suspicion of criminal behaviour. As they attempted to weaken their opponents' arguments, these participants in the discussion showed that in practice the authorities regarded religion as the most important attribute of the nationality of a person from the Western Province. However, Alexander II supported the minority view. Kaufman's supporters (the above-mentioned Zelenoi, War Minister D. Miliutin and his brother, Nikolai, who was State Secretary For the Affairs of the Kingdom of Poland) thought that the province could only be Russified after these measures had been put into practice. In response to criticism that religion should be the criterion used to establish nationality, these four men explained that the term "persons of Polish descent" meant

> not Catholics in general, but only Poles and those natives of the Western Province who have adopted Polish nationality themselves. Although juridically this phrase could be inexact, in practice when applied to individuals, it has not aroused any doubts thus far.

> Meanwhile, this phrase completely removes the issue of profession of faith, as it would be entirely unjust to make a difference between landowners on grounds of religion rather than politics.[24]

It was for this reason that the decree confirmed by the tsar repeated the phrase "persons of Polish descent" rather than "persons of Polish descent and Catholic religion" as it was in State Property Minister Zelenoi's text, which this commission also discussed.[25] Therefore not only the high-ranking officials, who opposed this measure, but also supporters of this anti-Polish policy were unable to base their decisions in the future on religion as a criterion defining nationality. However, this was just one of many problems which hindered the clear legal formulation of who was to be regarded as a "person of Polish descent."

Almost as soon as this resolution was passed correspondence began between the ministers of justice and state property on the possibility of defining in law clearly who was a "person of Polish descent" so that officials granting permission to buy land would not have to solve this problem for themselves. State Property Minister Zelenoi, who, as has been noted, was one of the most active supporters of this decree, when it was being proposed, used various arguments to prove that there was no need to provide such explanations because in practice doubts never arose as to who was to be regarded as a "person of Polish descent."[26] In the rules put forward by Zelenoi, stating how the authorities were to ensure that the purchaser of an estate was not a "person of Polish descent," all explanations of what defined Polonicity were avoided.[27]

Zelenoi's unwillingness to define clearly in law who was a "person of Polish descent," in our view, was connected both with the problem that Catholicism was not mentioned in the 10 December 1865 Decree and also with the understanding that they would not be able to give a definition of Polonicity, which would provide for all possible instances. This version of what happened is confirmed by the certain utterances from the officials themselves:

> clearly the Law of 10 December 1865, expressing only the basic thought of how to Russify the province, should be implemented in each separate case in practice in its own way to meet the aim that has been outlined, taking account of circumstances; but it is impossible to provide general rules to meet all cases in their various needs.[28]

Later, when seeking to obtain the abolition of the prohibition on Polish acquisition of land in the Western Province, Governor General Potapov cited as one of the failings of the Decree of 10 December 1865 the fact that the concept of "persons of Polish descent" had not been defined. Potapov provided many cases which, in his opinion, should be defined in legal acts, such as how to deal with people who grew up, lived and occupied certain posts in the interior gubernias; how to treat converts to Orthodoxy; how to determine whether a person had adopted Polish culture; how to treat those who became a member of a different class, and so on.[29] By listing these various cases which should be defined in law, Potapov clearly wished to show that it was impossible to provide such a definition of Polonicity.

Now we will try to see which criteria were used in practice by officials of various ranks and what this information can tell us about the concept of nationality at that time in official Russian discourse.

Lower-ranking officials at first, of course, did not know anything about the discussions that had taken place in St Petersburg at the end of 1865 and so they had only the text of the Decree of 10 December 1865 to rely on, and this mentioned "persons of Polish descent." At that very same time official Russian discourse replaced talk of "local descent" with "Polish descent," when defining who was a Pole. Thus while previously this definition said "persons of local descent and Catholic religion," henceforth there was talk of "persons of Polish descent and Catholic religion." The content remained the same. Polish descent most often meant a person from the Western Province, but the aboriginal status implied by "local descent" could no longer be attributed to Poles. In other words, descent in the definition of who was a Pole had a territorial, rather than an ethnic sense. Meanwhile, the definition of who was of Russian descent had a clearly ethnic sense. Thus in this case "descent" did not make a Pole different from a Russian. Ethnic Belarusians (Russians in the authorities' terminology) from the Western Province could be both. What caused them to differ was religion. The state property minister said in a report to the tsar, which led to the passing of the 10 December Decree, that a Pole was "a local Polonised West-Russian Catholic."[30] This illustrates nicely the situation we are discussing: Poles are ethnic Russians from the Western Province, who had converted from Orthodoxy and become Poles, as can be seen from the Catholicism they profess. The ethnic descent of members of the gentry did not save them from discrimination in so far as we can tell. If they professed Catholicism they too were regarded as "persons of Polish descent." Some influential publicists such as Aksakov, when writing about the 10 December Decree named Catholicism as the most important sign of Polonicity.[31]

The way Catholic converts to Orthodoxy were treated also confirms the importance of religion for formal identification of the gentry as a member of one national group or another. Thus in 1869 Feliks Landsberg, a Catholic convert to Orthodoxy, who was originally from the Baltic Gubernias, asked for permission to buy land.[32] He was granted such permission on 18 August 1869.[33] Most probably the conversion to Orthodoxy is what influenced this official decision. Thus it was enough for certain local officials that a nobleman converted to Orthodoxy for his to be no longer considered a "person of Polish descent." According to the editor of *Vestnik Zapadnoi Rossii*, Ksenofont Govorskii, in this instance a change of religion was tantamount to a change in nationality, since "a native of Western Russia who converts to Orthodoxy returns once more to the native Russian nationality of his forefathers."[34] However, we would not be wrong to say that most of the imperial authorities regarded "persons of Polish nationality," who converted to Orthodoxy as belonging formally to the Russian category not because they became Russians immediately, but because their descendants would be Russians. Officials who thought in this way included Governor General Potapov of Vil'na. According to him, such people should be allowed to buy estates if their children were Orthodox or bachelors because "all their descendants who practise Orthodoxy would undoubtedly merge with the Russian Nationality and thereby increase the number of non-Polish landowners."[35]

However, in 1869 State Property Minister Zelenoi based himself on the definition of who was a Pole, as put forward by the minority on the commission that met at the end of 1865 cited above, to explain that religion was *not* the most important criterion of nationality and so "persons of Polish descent" who converted to Orthodoxy did not thereby acquire estate-purchasing rights in the Western Province. From his own deliberations Zelenoi added that the descendants of these converts to Orthodoxy could be regarded as being Russians only after they

> take on Russian nationality with time, exactly as the ancestors of many of today's Polish landowners in the Western Province, who at one time were Russian, gradually adopted Polish nationality after their conversion from Orthodoxy to the Latin Faith – but it takes a considerable amount of time to actually effect this change in nationality; once this period has passed these persons indeed become Russians after they have finally rejected their Polish views and tendencies and the Polish language itself, and they will cease to be regarded as persons of Polish descent. But a real change in nationality

> cannot be the direct and swift consequence of a change in confession.[36]

We have quoted the state property minister at some length here because this comment illustrates well how Zelenoi imagined the process of Russification: this is a long process which takes several generations; it begins with conversion to Orthodoxy and later the former "person of Polish descent" rejects not only Polish political ideas but also the Polish language. Moreover, the minister's explanation is also important because, as the Polish historian Rodkiewicz has noted succinctly, it reveals that officials considered "one could only be born but could not become Russian."[37] In other words, if a person is not born Orthodox, he will not become a Russian either. Thus, even though at first glance it would appear that Zelenoi denied the significance of religion as a basic denominator of nationality, he still granted significance to this criterion. We may also note that although Zelenoi and Potapov had more or less the same conception of the process by which a Pole could become a Russian, their proposals as to how to treat religious converts with regard to landownership differed. Clearly Zelenoi was more suspicious of Poles and may have thought that they converted to Orthodoxy only in order to gain privileges.

As far as extant archival sources allow us to judge, thenceforth officials followed the instructions of the state property minister. Take the case of Adam Kniazhishchia, who asked the governor of Vitebsk for permission to purchase land in December 1869. According to the governor, even though Kniazhishchia and his son had converted to Orthodoxy, his wife and father were Catholic. Therefore, according to the Russian official, since Kniazhishchia was a "direct descendant of a person of Polish origin" and "had still not adopted Russian nationality," and, furthermore, the husband of a Catholic, he could not purchase land. The fact that the family could be trusted politically did not have any bearing on this matter.[38] Later on there were cases where local officials were inclined to allow recent converts to Orthodoxy to purchase land in the western gubernias. Thus the governor of Minsk saw no objection to allowing Ivan Shishko, a townsman from Novogrudek and sacristan of an Orthodox church, to buy land. His whole family had changed religion.[39] However, the governor general of Vil'na instructed that the 1869 Resolution be followed and Shishko did not gain the permission he had sought.[40] There were more such requests but they were not granted.[41] The interior minister had to explain to the governor of Mogilev, who regarded religion as the basic nationality criterion, that since

> persons of Polish descent who convert to Orthodoxy do not thereby change their nationality <...> the government can in no way permit differences to be made in the area of Russian landownership, which is a purely political matter, according to religion, especially since in practice there are always enough signs that a person is categorised as a Russian or a Pole independently of religion.[42]

Religion, as an important factor determining whether a person had the right to buy an estate in the Western Province, was also important when the appellant came from a mixed family.[43] After the publication of the 10 December Decree these cases were not discussed specially and so officials acted on their own initiative. As far as can be determined from archival evidence, in the first years after the publication of the decree Russian Orthodox did not receive permission to buy land if their spouse was a Catholic.[44] Thus, despite the fact that according to the law the offspring of such marriages had to be baptised as members of the Orthodox Church, officials were still afraid that these children would be influenced strongly by their Catholic parent, despite their formal profession of Orthodoxy. Potapov proposed abandoning this practice because, *inter alia,* "such marriages between Russians and Polish women would lead first of all to the Russification of the province, albeit slowly."[45] However, the Committee of Ministers decided that there was no reason to regulate such cases because the faith professed by a spouse should not be a criterion for deciding whether a person could acquire land in the Western Province.[46] Thus Orthodox who were married to a Catholic obtained the right to purchase estates in the Western Province, but most likely they were unable to take advantage of other privileges because, as the state property minister explained in the early 1870s, he would not grant such permission to unmarried "girls of Russian descent" because in the future they might marry a "person of Polish descent" and their children would be influenced by the "moral and social views" of their father, despite the fact that they were themselves Orthodox.[47]

Several problems arose for officials when Protestants married to a Catholic wished to acquire land. As has been noted, Governor General Kaufman of Vil'na, who had appealed to the central authorities to consolidate Russian landownership in the Western Province, proposed supporting Germans as well as ethnic Russians. There is no doubt that in this case Kaufman had Baltic Germans in mind. It is only strange that the governor general did not refer to them as "persons from the Baltic gubernias" [*litsa Ostzeiskogo proiskhozhdeniia; urozhentsy Pribatiiskikh gubernii*], as was the custom at that time in official Russian discourse. The 10 December Decree mentioned

Baltic Germans and ethnic Russians as "persons of Russian descent and Orthodox religion and of Protestant religion." According to Valuev, whose account is hard to confirm, the opponents of autonomy for Baltic Germans, first and foremost the Miliutin brothers, who were unable to oppose the placement of the Baltic Germans among the privileged openly, decided to use a phrase, which they regarded as able to prevent the Germans from actually taking advantage of this privilege.[48] Indeed, certain officials did interpret the 10 December Decree in this way so that they proposed not allowing Baltic Germans to acquire land in the province, but, as we can tell from extant data, these persons did gain the relevant permission.[49] Such an ambiguity could not last for long. In 1867 Alexander II instructed clearly that the term "persons of Russian descent and Orthodox religion and of Protestant religion" implied the Baltic Germans.[50] However, even in later years NWP officials returned to this matter, especially when it involved the Kovno Gubernia. Governor Obolenskii of Kovno, for example, considered that Baltic Germans would be Polonised quickly, even though they would consolidate the "conservative element" in the province. The best proof of this, according to Obolenskii, was their conversion from Lutheranism to Catholicism.[51]

Cases where a Baltic German was married to a Catholic differed from the cases outlined above where mixed marriages took place between Orthodox and Catholics in so far as in this case sons were supposed to take the faith of their father, and daughters that of their mother. Thus, property belonging to a Lutheran could be inherited by his Catholic children. Holding by the explanation given by Zelenoi and his fellows when the 10 December Decree was being drafted to the effect of who was to be considered a "person of Polish descent," Lutherans married to a Catholic ought to have been able to buy land in the Western Province. It was at the end of the 1860s that Potapov also attempted to convince the central authorities of this matter, when discussing the case of the Lutheran, Garting: "recognising Lieutenant-colonel Garting to be a person of Russian descent does not grant us the possibility to recognise his children to be of Polish descent, only because they profess the Roman Catholic Faith."[52] In other words, Potapov was proposing not to follow the religious criterion. Despite what the governor general thought, Interior Minister Aleksandr Timashev rejected Garting's request, since Catholic children from such marriages would be able to inherit land.[53] This case no less that the others outlined above illustrates that it was religion which officials regarded as the most important criterion for defining the nationality of the social elite. In Garting's case one factor sufficed for the interior minister to determine the nationality of the colonel's children; this factor was religion.

Later, as far as we can tell from the sources we have found, we can see the same tendency at work when such requests for permission to acquire land were placed by Protestants married to a Catholic (male or female): if all the children were Protestant, permission would be granted;[54] if there were some Catholic children, permission would be denied.[55] The nationality of children, the language spoken or any other criteria were of no interest to officials. This further confirms the conclusion that religion was the determining factor when deciding nationality. Despite all the efforts of Russian officialdom, there was still a possibility for Catholics to acquire land in the Western Province. Such permission was granted to unmarried Protestants, who might later marry a Catholic and have children, who could be baptised as Catholics.[56]

Nevertheless, there were cases which at first sight might appear to show that the authorities did indeed adhere to the concept of nationality criteria put forward by Zelenoi and his companions in 1865, whereby religion was not to be regarded as the main denominator of nationality. We have in mind those cases, where Catholic landowners received the right to buy land in the Western Province. Such cases were uncommon. Until 1870 there were 17 such cases in the NWP and 5 in the SWP.[57] According to the governor general of Kiev, in such cases

> account was taken of the circumstance where despite their faith these persons had not developed Polish nationality, used Russian rather than Polish in their family and domestic life, and in general could appear harmless and even useful in bringing about the government's aim of Russifying the province.[58]

However, this is the only case we know of where the application of the privilege to Catholic estate owners was interpreted in this way. In most cases, where the authorities did not apply the 10 December Decree to Catholic landowners, they did so not because they did not regard them as "persons of Polish descent" but because they paid attention to their loyalty and special services to the empire. Usually bureaucratic correspondence on this issue says that "the 10 December 1865 Decree has not been applied to these persons of Polish descent."[59] In 1873 Alexander II commanded that thenceforth the 10 December Decree would not be applied only to those Poles, whose merits were known to him personally.

Problems also arose concerning who was a "person of Polish descent" with regard to social status. Officials of various ranks asked whether Catholic townsfolk were to be regarded as Poles, even though the 10 December Decree stated clearly that "persons of Polish descent" were primarily landowners

and townsfolk. In 1871 the Senate decreed that one Jasinskii, a Catholic townsman from Panevėžys [Ponevezh], did not have the right to acquire land.[60] However, this problem still recurred in the 1870s.[61] Nevertheless the problem of whether to regard Catholic townsfolk as "persons of Polish descent" did not cause officials as much difficulty as what to do about Catholic peasants.

The 10 December Decree stated quite clearly that Catholic peasants were not to be regarded as "persons of Polish descent." This document balances 10 million Little Russians, Belarusians and Lithuanians against a small number of "persons of Polish descent," that is, landowners and townsfolk. Thus it should have been clear that peasants were not to be regarded as being "persons of Polish descent." However, in the 1860s the governors general of the NWP still asked whether this prohibition should be applied to Catholic peasants. Kaufman considered that Catholic peasants "in the strict sense cannot be regarded as persons of Polish descent" and so the 10 December Decree should not apply to them.[62] Eduard Baranov at first instructed permission to buy land to be denied to Catholic peasants, but he soon repealed this instruction.[63] Potapov once again attempted to prohibit the sale of land to Catholic peasants but the Committee of Ministers rejected the proposal to expand the application of the 10 December Decree to Catholic peasants because that "would form the basis for defining the peasant class according to the principle of religion."[64] Then the governor general set certain conditions for such cases, such as land could be acquired only by politically trustworthy peasants.[65]

The motives of officials were more or less the same. Kaufman was afraid that "the acquisition of large plots of land by peasants could lead in time to the formation of a class of people called the petty gentry [*szlachta*], which the government is trying to root out."[66] Potapov asserted that "as a consequence of the undisputed influence of the Catholic clergy, most significance for determining political wellbeing will lie with religion, and descent will be only of secondary importance" and attempts to encourage Lithuanian national revival had failed.[67] The governor of Kovno feared that Lithuanian peasants "with the funds to purchase large plots of land would merge with the petty gentry sooner or later and would be no less opposed to the government and Russia in their views and political leanings."[68] Thus, in the view of the bureaucrats, wealthy peasants, to use modern terms, became "potential Poles."[69] This fear encouraged the authorities to introduce new restrictions in later years on Catholic peasants wishing to purchase land.[70]

At the turn of the 1860s and 1870s Governor General Potapov of Vil'na attempted once more to soften discrimination policy in landownership but to



Fig. 13. *Aleksandr Potapov (1818–1886)*

no avail. He used political, legal and economic reasons to propose changing the 10 December Decree. Potapov thought that the prohibition on Polish purchase of estates would not lead at all to the destruction of the closed nature of that national group; the decree ran counter to imperial laws guaranteeing the full rights of owners to use their property; there was only a small market demand and the unclear definition of who was to be regarded as a Pole led to abuses by officials, and so on. Thus the governor general proposed keeping only that part of the 10 December Decree which dealt with compulsory sales, while abolishing the prohibition on land acquisition by "persons of Polish descent."[71] These proposals did not win central approval.[72] The 10 December Decree was the most important means of "Russifying the province" in the view of Russifiers of the day and so repealing or even amending it would have been understood as an admission of failure.

Percentage Taxes

Various taxes provided a means to reduce the ability of Poles to finance uprisings, and also to bring about a gradual reduction in the size of Polish landownership. The most important of these was a percentage tax on income from landed estates.[73] A closer look at how this tax was developed and how the amount payable changed not only allows us to understand better how nineteenth-century officials conceived of nationality and the possibility of

changing national identity, but also it reveals certain very important motives behind the behaviour of Governor General Murav'ev.[74]

Almost as soon as he arrived in Vilnius the new governor general began to set about levying a percentage tax on landowners' income from their estates.[75] Funds obtained from this tax were supposed to be used for expenditure involving the "consolidation of the Russian element" in the province by raising the welfare of Orthodox clergy, maintaining Orthodox churches, establishing so-called "people's schools," maintaining the Police and gendarmerie, paying supplementary wages to Russian officials, and such like actions.[76] Murav'ev even told Interior Minister Valuev that landowners feared this tax "even more than use of the army."[77] After deciding that the provincial gentry had acted criminally by doing nothing or even taking an active part in the Uprising, the Western Committee agreed with this proposal.[78] In addition the governor general was given the right to reduce at his own discretion the tax on gentry, who appeared to him to be politically trustworthy. No exemptions on the basis of nationality or religion were provided. The governor general set about implementing the policy zealously.[79]

There was not long to wait before dissatisfaction was voiced regarding the measures even on the part of Russian landowners.[80] In this instance even certain of the governor general's close aides did not comprehend why Russian landowners also had to pay the percentage tax.[81] This tax, according to Murav'ev was a "legitimate sacrifice" to help the government deal with the Uprising. Murav'ev also explained in letters to Interior Minister Valuev that it was impossible not to levy this tax on Russian and Baltic German landowners.[82] In a similar way the governor general explained the meaning of the tax to a Russian landowner from the Kovno Gubernia, who had asked for exemption;

> this is a general measure and native Russians are called upon to take part in collecting this tax not as a fiscal contribution but as cooperation with the government to cover those emergency expenses, which have been incurred to maintain private property and restore peace and tranquillity to these gubernias.[83]

The pressure was such that Murav'ev had to back down. First of all he instructed the governors to report on trustworthy Russians and Baltic Germans, for whom the 10-percent tax was reduced by half. Admittedly, it was also stressed that there were some among the landowners of "Polish descent," who were loyal to the authorities and, to the contrary there were also those "persons of non-Polish descent," who supported the "revolutionary party" openly or secretly.[84] This document shows the governor general's

unwillingness to allot Russians and Baltic Germans *in corpore* to the category of faithful subjects. The pressure on Murav'ev did not subside and he was forced to explain that only Polish landowners were paying this tax as a contribution, while others were aiding the government to protect their own property. Furthermore, the tax was reduced on land which was of poorer quality, "for landowners of Russian and Baltic German descent" by a further 50 percent, that is, to 2.5 percent or even 1.5 percent, but at the same time this tax could also be reduced for those of "Polish descent" who were also loyal to the government to the same level as that for Russians and Baltic Germans.[85] Still Murav'ev had to back down. Early in 1864, the Western Committee instructed that the governor general could exempt Russian landowners and other loyal persons from the tax.[86] A year later on 26 February 1865 the Committee of Ministers decreed that "natives of the Baltic Gubernias" were to be exempt from the tax.[87] At the end of 1865 the committee headed by Prince Gagarin confirmed once again that this tax was to be paid "only by persons of Polish descent," while Russians, Baltic Germans and others, whom the governor general sees fit to exempt, are also freed from payment.

At first there were some quite curious cases of how this tax was collected. The percentage tax was demanded, for example, in the Borisovo District of the Minsk Gubernia, from the estate of Nikolai Nikolaievich the Elder, the tsar's brother.[88]

A similar situation was recorded with regard to the one-percentage tax payable on the value of on town houses, which was introduced after Murav'ev came to Vilnius. Civil servants stressed that the tax was to be levied on "persons of Polish descent," but at first no exemptions were made.[89] Later, on 15 September 1863 the governor general ordered the tax to be levied in certain district towns, stressing that people of all classes were to pay the tax "with the exception of peasants and the Orthodox clergy."[90] Later the list of those exempt was expanded and on 28 October 1863 it was decreed that the one-percent tax was to be paid by all except "the Orthodox clergy, peasants and persons of Russian, Baltic German and Tatar descent."[91]

At the end of the 1860s the authority bodies began to discuss the issue of the need to reduce the percentage tax on estate income.[92] In order to achieve this, the expenses covered by revenue from the tax had to be reduced. In 1869 after a special commission completed its work the Committee of Ministers decided to decree that per year revenue from this tax in the nine gubernias of the Western Province should stand at 2.5 million rubles. This tax was criticised with particular asperity by Governor General Potapov of Vil'na, who asserted that this would lead to an agricultural depression.[93] However, despite Potapov's best efforts this tax remained for some years later.[94] At that very time Alexander II confirmed the report presented to him by the interior minister, which said that

the percentage tax would be levied until two-thirds of estate land came into the hands of "landlords of non-Polish descent."[95]

As in the case of the 10 December Decree and various legal acts regulating the granting of privileges on acquisition of land in the Western Province, so when regulating the collection of percentage taxes, the government did not give any detailed explanations of who was to be regarded as "a person of Polish descent and Catholic religion." In addition to the reasons why it was impossible to give any clear definition of what Polish meant, as noted in the previous section, another motive for this arose here. Foreign Minister Aleksandr Gorchakov considered that percentage taxes should also be paid by those "persons of Polish descent," who were subjects of other states. However, in this case another matter proved irksome in addition to the problem of how to distinguish a Polish inhabitant of Galicia from a Ruthenian one, namely imposing this tax on Poles living in states other than Russia would mean that "in a certain sense the Russian authorities were recognising the existence of a Polish nationality divided between three separate states."[96] In other words, Gorchakov was afraid that in this way the authorities would be recognising the unity of the Polish nation and that would be possibly provide grounds for Poles to demand the reunification of their lands.

Civil servants encountered the problem of how to understand the concept of "descent" in the definition of what was a Pole, especially since a large number of landowners in the Western Province made haste to recall their non-Polish origins.

Thus Aleksander Giedroyć of the Kovno Gubernia attempted to prove that he should not have to pay the percentage tax because he was of Lithuanian origin. Indeed, sometimes the gentry in ethnically Lithuanians lands were called Lithuanians in official and public Russian discourse at the time. However, in this case Giedroyć's ethnic Lithuanian descent was of no use to him. It was sufficient for the civil service that he was "a person of local descent and the Catholic religion" and so he was subjected to the tax.[97]

Many more problems arose when defining who was to be regarded as "a person from the Baltic Gubernias," who, as has already been mentioned, were exempt from these taxes. Many gentry families sought to convince the authorities that they should be regarded, according to their origins as being "from the Baltic gubernias." Some governors allotted many Catholic landowners, whose ancestors had come from the Baltic gubernias to this category.[98] However, the Vil'na governors general, Kaufman and Baranov, explained that only Protestants should be regarded as being of "Baltic Gubernia descent."[99] The deliberations of applications from people trying to have themselves classified as Baltic Germans shows how officials understood the process by which these noblemen were Polonised.

The Römers were one of the families, which attempted to avoid the percentage tax. Local officials rejected the Römers' attempt to be classified as being "of Baltic descent" after gathering a considerable amount of material about the family's history. It turned out that the Römers came originally from Rome to Saxony and then to the Duchy of Courland in Livonia, the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Province (that is, the GDL) and after the end of the eighteenth century they were included in the genealogical records [*rodoslovnye knigi*] of the Vil'na Gubernia. Furthermore, under the Polish kings they enjoyed gentry rights and privileges and served in important posts, and they were Catholic.[100] On the basis of similar arguments the claim of Henrik Plater-Zyberg was rejected because, although he did

> come from a gentry family in the Baltic Gubernias, it was obvious to all that his ancestors served primarily Poland, and in general the family adopted Polish nationality as well as Catholicism, with which use of the Polish language and the education of children in customs that are particularly alien to the Russian nationality are always associated in this region.[101]

Thus the Polonisation of ethnic Germans was associated with their involvement in the political nation of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations, which in the authorities' terminology meant Poland, and especially Catholicism. The religious factor is important because it led to other signs of Polonicity such as language use.

Sometimes there were cases of officials, who regarded the language used at home as the most important sign of Polishness:

> the expression 'Pole' and 'Polish nationality' are ethnographic terms, not political ones; if it is hard to attribute a personage to the Polish nationality according to his passport, official records or other document, in practice, in real life this is very easy and use of the Polish language in domestic life serves as the best and surest sign of belonging to the Polish nationality.[102]

The importance of religion in attributing a person to one national group or another is illustrated by other cases. Thus after receiving Vil'na Governor General Kaufman's instruction to present him with a list of "non-Orthodox persons" and those "of non-Polish descent," Governor Aleksandr Beklemishev of Mogilev reported that the Catholics of his gubernia are "mostly polonised Belarusians and Lithuanians" and presented a list of landowners

"of non-Orthodox and non-Catholic religion."[103] Here we can see clearly that for Beklemishev ethnic origin was not important in determining the nationality of members of the nobility, while the determining factor was religion.

Catholic converts to Orthodoxy, at first, just as according to the 10 December Decree, were exempt from the percentage tax. In such cases local officials followed the same logic as that given by Potapov, when speaking of permission to acquire estates. However, after the state property minister expounded that converts to Orthodoxy were not eligible for this privilege, Potapov proposed using the same criteria for collecting percentage taxes.[104]

When other problems arose and it was necessary to determine whether certain persons should pay percentage taxes, officials followed arguments similar to those enumerated earlier. For example, peasants and townsfolk were exempt from percentage taxes.[105] It is interesting that this "privilege" was open to "former members of the Polish petty gentry," who were unable to prove their noble origins. When such people were ascribed to the peasant class, they did not have to pay percentage tax any more.[106] As far as we know, in such cases officials did not offer any comments. It is unlikely that they really thought that petty gentry, who were re-classed as peasants, automatically "forgot" their Polonicity. As has been mentioned, the process of assimilation was conceived of as a long-term process taking more than one generation in any case. Thus, in this case a formal criterion was followed.

Nevertheless, there were differences between the 10 December Decree and the legal acts regulating the obtaining of privileges through land purchase, and the percentage taxes. In the latter case considerably more local Catholic gentry gained privileges from the authorities and did not have to pay percentage tax. Until 1870, according to Potapov's data, there were more than four times more people exempted from percentage taxes than those who obtained the right to purchase estates.[107] This difference can be explained by the fact that imperial officials treated the 10 December Decree as a basic means of strengthening the Russian hand in landownership, while the percentage taxes were merely an auxiliary measure. As has been noted, when these taxes were introduced, a possibility was recognised for the local authorities to exempt not only Russians and "those from the Baltic Gubernias" but also other "local landowners" from paying them. These exemptions were made not because "persons of Polish descent and Catholic religion <…> became completely Russified," because "there was definitely no measure or means at hand to determine, given the facts, how much they were really Russified," but after taking into consideration their loyalty and services to the state.[108]

Replacement of Officials and School Teachers

It is well known that one of the most effective ways of integrating people of other nationalities is to employ them in state service. We can find many examples of this in modern studies, but what is more important for us is that this was understood by people in the mid-nineteenth century too. The official newspaper published in Vilnius, *Vilenskii vestnik*, remarked that the civil service was probably the best method of "assimilating" people of other nationalities. For example, if Baltic Germans who served the state did not become "true Russians" themselves, their children did.[109] However, after 1830–1831 and even more so after the 1863–1864 Uprising the Russian authorities decided that Poles could not be civil servants or teachers. What were the motives for this segregationist rather than integrationist policy and how were such principles put into practice?

The replacement of Poles, who had worked in official institutions and schools in the NWP, with Russians began in 1830–1831, when the Uprising forced the authorities to increase the loyalty of officials and teachers.[110] One of the first to propose radical measures in this area was none other than Murav'ev, while he was governor of Mogilev. He proposed employing ethnic Russians [*korennye russkie*] in official posts, albeit not in all of them, instead of "locals." He thought Russians should be encouraged to take this work in various ways.[111] Around the same time Governor Sergei Shipov of Podolia put forward proposals for reforming the Western Province including one to replace Polish teachers gradually with Russians.[112] Although the Committee of Ministers basically approved Murav'ev's proposals, historians have asserted that between the uprisings the national composition of civil service institutions did not change radically.[113]

Later, at the end of his reign Nicholas I secretly confirmed a Committee of Ministers' resolution on 2 February 1855 not only to replace local police officials but also officers in other departments with Russians. Admittedly, after taking into account the opinion of Governor General Il'ia Bibikov of Vil'na, the Committee of Ministers announced that this replacement of officials should take place gradually. Although he approved of this measure in principle, Bibikov said that it was unlikely that replacing all officials with Russians would be sensible, since those who were dismissed the service would only swell the ranks of the disaffected; and without gaining special privileges Russian civil servants would be in no hurry to move to the region, and thus the issuing of such a resolution could give rise to general dissatisfaction.[114] The authorities were more zealous in replacing teachers. From the 1840s Russian teachers replaced Poles in state schools.[115]



Fig. 14. *Nikolai Murav'ev (1820–1869)*

However we cannot fail to note other more telling tendencies. A decree of 1837 announced that Catholic gentry from the Western Province, who gained scholarships to grammar schools or universities, had to pay back this state investment by working at first for five years in the civil service in Russian interior gubernias, and later for three years in the gubernia where they received the scholarship. In 1852 Nicholas I decided that local Catholic noblemen, who wished to gain a post in the state service, had first to work for ten years in interior gubernias before seeking employment in the Western Province. However, only those who were "completely loyal" could take such employment.[116] This means that the imperial authorities hoped that Russian educational establishments or work in the interior gubernias were sufficient measures to turn the Poles into the tsar's loyal subjects.

When the new tsar came to the throne attempts to turn the bureaucracy into an national Russian institution were softened. Alexander II issued a decree revoking the 1852 Decree and it became possible for Poles to take work in certain state schools.[117] However the imperial authorities returned



Fig. 15. *Ivan Nikotin (?–1890)*

quite quickly to ideas for changing the national composition of bureaucratic and teaching institutions. Governor General Nazimov of Vil'na proposed employing Russians from the interior gubernias in posts from which politically untrustworthy Poles had been removed. First and foremost Russians were to be given posts which required close contact with peasants such as those of justice of the peace, district scribes and village teachers.[118]

When Murav'ev was appointed governor general of Vil'na the move from talk to practice regarding the changes in the national composition of the bureaucracy took place. To the highest posts he appointed people whom he knew from his previous employment and even his close kin; thus his son Nikolai was appointed governor of Kovno. Certain officials did retain their posts, such as the head of the governor general's chancery, Aleksandr Tumanov, the head of the chancery's political desk, Aleksandr Pavlov, and the official in charge of special tasks, Ivan Nikotin.

In the NWP itself the new governor general, as he himself wrote, could not find many suitable candidates to replace Poles in official institutions and schools. Thus, for example, in order to replace Poles who had worked in the chancery he proposed making an exception to allow local Russian Orthodox members of unprivileged classes, and even men without the required education, to take such posts.[119] There was still one other way of gaining suitably qualified Russian employees – by inviting them to come from neighbouring gubernias. Thus in a manifesto-like report of 14 May 1864



Fig. 16. *Aleksandr Tumanov (1816 (1817?)–1886)*

Murav'ev proposed appointing Russians immediately to various management posts as well as those which required contact with peasants, while replacing Poles with Russians gradually in other jobs.[120] Indeed Murav'ev had no intention of replacing all Poles with Russians at once. For example, he allowed the governor of Vitebsk to retain the services of those Police officials "of Polish descent and Roman Catholic religion," who had proved their loyalty.[121] According to VED Overseer Kornilov, when he, Kornilov, had proposed dismissing Polish teachers, the governor general approved his opinion but noted at the same time that there were loyal people among those teachers.[122] The fact that Murav'ev did not intend straight away at least to dismiss all Polish officials or teachers was conditioned by the circumstance that it would have been difficult to find enough suitable Russian replacements.

Although certain members of the political elite opposed such policies, the Western Committee approved of Murav'ev's proposals.[123] These Russifying proposals from Murav'ev seemed drastic to higher-ranking civil servants, who prioritised the traditional practice of guaranteeing imperial unity. In the wake of this Western Committee resolution Interior Minister Valuev attempted to convince Alexander II that the desire to change the national composition of the civil service totally was impossible because "we cannot throw 850,000 Poles out of Russia and we cannot force all natives of the Western Province to serve, for example, in the Volga Province and all natives of the Volga Province to serve in the Western Province."[124]

Later the authorities confirmed further legislation, which allowed for Poles in various institutions to be replaced with Russians. Admittedly, in at least one case Poles were required to do their duty. While during the 1830–1831 Uprising Polish officers from the Kingdom of Poland were permitted at their own request to continue to serve in other parts of the empire, in the early 1860s War Minister D. Milutin instructed that such requests for transfer be denied because experience had shown that such officers could not be trusted. Moreover, the war minister instructed that Poles be observed with special care to check whether they were politically loyal.[125]

Probably the most consistent policy of this type was carried out in education.[126] Thus, for example, in 1863 a decision was taken to replace Polish headmasters in grammar schools and junior grammar school with Russians; and in 1864 a step was taken on Murav'ev's orders to replace all Polish teachers in such schools with Russians.[127] Because there was a shortage of teachers in other education districts too (at the end of 1863 there were 76 vacant posts in 86 imperial grammar schools), the Western Committee decided in 1863 to establish scholarships in the universities of Moscow, Kazan' and Khar'kov for future VED teachers. The University of St Petersburg was most probably not included in this arrangement, because Russifiers regarded this establishment as being too cosmopolitan. Only Orthodox students could apply for such scholarships. Murav'ev proposed keeping the same selection criterion for students applying for the thirty scholarships established later at the University of Dorpat [Tartu], but on 27 April 1864 the State Council supported the opinion of Education Minister Golovnin, rather than the governor general of Vil'na, so that not only Russian Orthodox but also Baltic Germans could apply for scholarships for future VED teachers because there could be insufficient scholarship-holders if Protestants were eliminated and what is more, the Baltic Germans were regarded as loyal subjects and so there was no need to incur their displeasure.[128]

Soon the chances for Poles to work as teachers were restricted throughout the empire. In 1867 Alexander II confirmed a decree by which Catholics from the Kingdom of Poland or the Western Province could not be appointed as directors of educational establishments, grammar school inspectors or teachers of Russian history, language or literature. In 1868 a new decree was issued forbidding these persons to take jobs in any teaching establishment controlled by the Education Ministry, except for the Warsaw and Dorpat Education Districts. This prohibition did not apply to universities and teachers of the Catholic Religion.[129] Such an unwillingness to allow Poles to work in education in the region was connected with the conviction of officials, especially those working in the VED, that the authorities could not alter the

opinions which Poles brought with them from their families and which were bred in them by the Catholic clergy:

> if the expression that any newborn child of Polish descent sucks in hatred of the Russian government and the Russian people together with his mother's milk, can be termed a maxim, then another, namely that the same child, having attained not more than his tenth year, is already adequately familiar with the (in)famous Polish catechism and is ready to make himself the sworn enemy of every Russian, is a truth we have learned from experience.

Even if there were a Polish teacher who was loyal to the authorities, in the opinion of the VED Overseer's Assistant Aleksandr Serno-Solov'evich, he could still not be retained in such a post because he would lose support from his family and among the clergy, and would be afraid of being denounced as a traitor. This official also proposed remembering the cunning, typical of Poles, and the credulity, typical of Russians.[130] Thus, it comes as no surprise that both he and other VED officials set about driving all Polish teachers out of the schools.

Admittedly, not all the prohibitions which the local authorities wished to impose received approval from St Petersburg. Thus VED officials, primarily Overseer Kornilov, sought for all persons "of Polish descent and Catholic religion" to be unable to sit examinations which gave the right to work as a teacher. In this way there would be no Poles in private schools as well as state ones. This step was supported by Governor General Kaufman, although Murav'ev was against it and proposed that care be taken to ensure that only politically loyal persons sat such examinations. However, at the end of 1865 the Committee of Ministers, on the initiative of Education Minister Golovnin, did not approve this measure.[131]

In order to increase the number of officials within the interior gubernias, who would be willing to move to the Western Province, a supplement of 50 percent was proposed for wages, along with travel expenses. During Murav'ev's administration alone 3,000 such officials took the offer.[132] However, as one of Murav'ev's closest aides alleged, around 1,000 of these were sent back as unsuitable to take up such posts.[133] Even the higher-ranking local officials admitted that some of the parvenus were completely unfit to hold such posts and many were attracted only by higher stipends rather than the defence of "Russian affairs."[134] It also happened that those who came were not appointed and found it hard to make a living.[135] Some hurried back whence they had come as soon as they received their money. Such cases made



Fig. 17. *Stepan Paniutin (1822–1885)*

Governor Stepan Paniutin of Vil'na appeal to the governor general, who without hesitation decreed on 12 July 1864 that officials who had received financial support from the authorities and come to the NWP had to work for at least two years in the province. This episode not only reveals one of the problems facing the authorities when they replaced civil servants, but also it shows how Murav'ev envisaged his powers. As has been noted, the governor general of Vil'na decided by himself to introduce the two-years' service requirement. Only after having so decreed did he inform the interior minister. That autumn Murav'ev's move was confirmed by the Western Committee and the Senate.[136] It seems that this decision was supposed to be taken first by the central authorities and that the governor general was supposed to seek approval first from St Petersburg and only then give the proper instruction to his governors. However, at that time Murav'ev enjoyed considerable authority and so the governor general at times allowed himself to ignore the principles of subordination.

Officials in the NWP began to doubt the utility of such practices only later. The governor general of Vil'na, Potapov, attempted during his first years in office to appeal to the tsar in the matter of reorganising seriously staffing policy, because a situation whereby not only were "persons of Polish descent" not being employed in state service but even those already in post were being dismissed "solely because of their descent and the Catholic

religion," was harming the empire. "Such a way of life does not strengthen feelings of love for and subjection to the throne and the fatherland of course and it does not draw them closer to Russia, but on the contrary it breeds inimical feelings."[137] Although it seems that Potapov did not show the proposals of 1868 to Alexander II, he returned to the issue several times in later years. In 1870 Potapov suggested following the above-mentioned Western Committtee resolution not to appoint Poles only to management jobs along with those which required close contact with the plebs. In other cases he proposed to allow local authorities to appoint local people at their own discretion "without regard to descent and religion."[138] He proposed changing staffing policy also because persons of "Polish descent and the Catholic religion" who had been dismissed would find themselves in straitened circumstances and would form a very dangerous element where public order was concerned. Potapov also explained that the imperial authorities would not help these people become more loyal to the empire by not allowing Poles who had attended grammar school to enter public service.[139]

This, of course, does not mean that Potapov was no longer active in inviting officials from the so-called interior gubernias to transfer to the NWP. Seeing that it was becoming more and more difficult to attract qualified specialists, because they were gaining fewer and fewer incentives, in 1874 the governor general proposed granting civil servants "of Russian descent" coming to the province the same concessions as those given to officials going to the Kingdom of Poland or gubernias distant from the centre of the empire, but the finance minister explained that those gubernias could not be equated with gubernias, which according to law were defined as being distant and uncomfortable to live in, nor with the gubernias of the Kingdom of Poland. The NWP cannot be regarded as geographically far-flung and it differs from the Kingdom of Poland according to ethnic composition because the majority of the population in the NWP is "of Russian descent."[140]

If we compare the practice of replacing officials with the policy towards landowners, we could say that in the first instance the authorities should have had fewer problems deciding which officials to regard as Russians and which, as Poles. In this case, as has been noted, Russian newcomers from the interior gubernias were supposed to replace locals "of Polish descent and the Catholic religion." However, various problems arose with this in both the NWP and the SWP.

In the first half of 1864 Governor General Nikolai Annenkov of Kiev attempted to check which persons working in schools should be given the 50-percent supplementary wage. It was unclear to the governor general,

among other things, “who was to be regarded as a Russian: should it be only those of Russian descent and Orthodox religion, or also those who were not of Russian descent but were Russian subjects and followed Orthodoxy?” There was also the question of how to treat those who were of the Orthodox Faith but whose parents were Poles. The Western Committee followed Minister of Education Golovnin’s initiative and instructed that these supplements be paid also to Baltic Germans and foreigners and that on account of various problems arising, when it is necessary to determine whether to place someone in the Russian category, the right to make the final decision be left with the governors general.[141] Thus, in this case as in that with the landowners the imperial authorities avoided giving strict definition of who was a Pole and who, a Russian most probably because they understood full well that it was impossible to determine such matters in every possible case.[142]

Since the authorities did not provide any clear definitions of nationality, local officials faced various questions. One of these was connected with the matter of whether local Russians also should receive supplementary wages. Because these supplements were only paid to newcomers from Russia, the Polish historian, Rodkiewicz has drawn the conclusion that “this indicates that the government viewed local Orthodox as tainted by Polish-Latin influences and had doubts about their ‘Russianness’.”[143] In fact, such a conclusion is not completely groundless. Some high-ranking local officials did not trust the local Russians. Murav’ev instructed, when proposing to reduce the number of grammar schools in the NWP, that even the Orthodox who attended these schools had joined the Uprising. Similar considerations drove the governor general of Vil’na to invite Orthodox clergy from the interior gubernias to replace local former Uniates.[144] Still, we would think that the payment of percentage wage supplements only to newcomers was not connected so much with concepts of Russianness as with practical concerns. Newly-arrived officials or teachers often found themselves in a situation they could not comprehend, far from their kin and so the financial incentive was supposed to compensate for their losses. It would not be acceptable ideologically to view the local Orthodox population as non-Russian. Thus, when the governor general’s chancery chief, Tumanov, deliberated whether local Orthodox such as Julian Chekhovich from the Minsk Gubernia, should be treated as “persons of Russian descent,” his superior, Kaufman, reacted categorically: “the Vil’na Gubernia is not Poland and therefore I suppose that Chekhovich cannot be considered anything other than a Russian.”[145]

Still, as far as sources at our disposal allow us to tell, most often officials had no problem as to how to categorise a given civil servant or teacher on national grounds. Most often the basic or even sole grounds was religion.

As Governor Vasilii Dunin-Barkovskii of Mogilev suggested, the best criterion in the NWP for distinguishing a Pole from a Russian was religion, so "Orthodox are Russians and Catholics are Poles."[146]

"Persons of Polish descent" who converted to Orthodoxy could also remain in the service, or if they did not have such a job they could hope to get one, although Aksakov suggested that the sincerity of changes in religion should be doubted.[147] Often just the desire to become Orthodox sufficed.[148] Often officials left no explanation of why converts were to be classed as Russians. Clearly adoption of Orthodoxy was treated as a demonstration of loyalty which sufficed for one person or another to remain in state service when there was a shortage of good specialists. In other cases, for example, Kaufman considered that only those, who both adopted Orthodoxy and fitted other criteria, could be retained in the service, that is, if

> they joined Orthodoxy together with their whole family and if in their manner of thought, life and language they and their whole family were completely Russian, sympathising with the government's measures to restore and strengthen Orthodoxy and the original Russian character of this province.[149]

Meanwhile Russians, who had married a Polish woman (thus a Catholic) were treated with mistrust. Murav'ev held the view that such persons should not be employed in the civil service for he feared that such officials would submit to their wives' influence and "become Polish."[150] The governor general of Vil'na viewed military officers with "Catholic wives from the Kingdom of Poland or the gubernias of the Western Province" with suspicion. Murav'ev asked for information to be collected about the political loyalty of such persons and those who wished to marry a Polish woman had first to obtain Murav'ev's permission.[151] In other words Polish wives were potentially much greater assimilators than state officialdom.

Similarly, local authorities had no uniform approach to Catholic peasants, Lithuanians included, in the NWP, when appointing or dismissing officials and teachers. Thus VED Overseer Kornilov and Governor General Murav'ev agreed that the Catholic peasant, Ovchino-Kairuk could be allowed to work as a doctor in the Shvenchiany [Švenčionys] Grammar School because he was the "son of a simple peasant and through his origin presents a *sui generis* guarantee of his political reliability."[152] Thus the doctor's peasant origins allowed the officials not to treat him as a Pole. It was another matter when a question arose as to whether Lithuanians could be appointed as teachers in so-called "people's schools" in the Kovno Gubernia. In this case

VED officials in the 1860s maintained the view that Lithuanians should not be allowed to be teachers because the Catholic clergymen had great influence over them.[153] That means that officials did not believe that Catholic peasants, Lithuanians at least, could be trusted, let alone become Russians, until they changed religion.[154]

The Introduction of a *Numerus Clausus*

When examining the introduction of a *numerus clausus* for Poles studying in Russian universities we will concentrate first of all on what this measure reveals about the authorities' view of the possibility of Russifying Poles, and we will attempt to explain which non-dominant national groups were classified as Poles in this instance.[155]

When the Russian imperial authorities closed down the universities of Warsaw and Vilnius in the wake of the 1830–1831 Uprising they solved one problem, namely they destroyed the institutions which they considered to be training renegades, but at the same time they created another problem, that of how to deal with Polish-speaking Catholics in the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Province, who wished to obtain higher education. Many officials were afraid that Poles studying in Russian higher education institutions would not only not submit to Russian influence but also even endanger those around them. In discussions of the closing down or reorganisation of Vilnius University after the 1830–1831 Uprising, the then rector, Wacław Pelikan, noted that after the closure of the university in Vilnius Lithuanian youth would seek degrees in other imperial universities and then "their pernicious way of thinking and rebellious opinions would spread to various parts of the empire."[156] The same thought arose during discussions of the issue in the Western Committee. The latter also noted that it was undesirable to allow the Lithuanian youth to travel to foreign universities because "while the spirit of free-thinking dominates in Europe at this time [Lithuanian youth] could be confirmed further in its perverse views and a new generation could be formed, which would be even more opposed to Russia."[157] The dangers posed by Polish students were discussed once more by the Western Committee in 1842, but that time the authorities were not determined to close the doors of Russian universities to young men from the Western Province.[158]

However, between the end of the 1830s and the end of the 1840s Education Minister Sergei Uvarov supported a policy to encourage Poles to study in Russian universities. The minister believed that Russian universities would instil a feeling of loyalty to the tsar among young Poles.[159] In other words,

we can see a certain indecisiveness on the part of the authorities as to how to deal with young Poles. On the one hand, the fear lest the rebellious Poles influence Russian students in the universities made them contemplate segregatory measures, while on the other hand, Minister Uvarov sought to integrate Poles via the universities.

During the period of the "Great Reforms" the imperial authorities returned once more to their previous policy towards the Poles and sought to educate them separately from Russians. This issue was particularly relevant in the early 1860s, when student disturbances struck not only so-called Interior Russia but also St Vladimir's University in Kiev. As the research of Johannes Remy shows, Polish-speaking students were particularly active.[160] The discussion begun by officials reminds us of a tennis game, where Polish-speaking students were a ball being volleyed from one side to another.[161] Governor General Vasil'chikov was concerned by the situation at St Vladimir's University. According to information at his disposal, Kiev University students of "Polish descent" were seeking to force the government to close down the University so that later on there would be a pretext to complain of repression. Vasil'chikov admitted that this Russian university was failing to integrate the Poles into Russian society.

> The domination of the Polish element in the university gives the Poles an opportunity to retain their character within a circle separate from the Russians and form their own political aims. Therefore, I consider it to be necessary to make the Russian element dominate in the university and thereby restrict the admission of Poles.[162]

He proposed not to admit "persons of Polish descent" from the Kingdom of Poland or the territory administered by the governor general of Vil'na to Kiev University. These persons were supposed to study at universities within Central Russia.

On account of disturbances in the capitals' universities Education Minister Evgraf Kovalevskii was unable to make such a move. After the declaration that "persons of Polish descent" were dangerous to the Russian university community, the proposal to increase their numbers in the capital cities, according to the authorities' categories, could only mean strengthening the opposition element in proximity to the government. So Kovalevskii proposed simply making the conditions for admitting Poles to university more strict.[163] This would have meant reducing their number. One of the aims of the projects discussed at that time for setting up higher education

institutions in the Kingdom of Poland and the NWP also sought to protect Russian universities from rebellious Polish students.[164]

This problem was discussed once again at the end of 1862. On 4 December the Western Committee considered the proposals drafted on 22 September 1862 by the governor general of Vil'na with regard to policy towards students. Taking into consideration the fact that Russian universities were beginning to work again in the aftermath of disturbances caused by students, Nazimov proposed permitting "persons of Polish descent," who had taken part in the disruption, to continue their studies only in higher education institutions within the Kingdom of Poland. Such a measure would have been useful because "Russian youth would be protected from people infected with harmful ideas," and, after completing their studies in the Kingdom in a "national [Polish] spirit," the Poles would most probably remain there, thereby relieving the government from the trouble of having to employ undesirable elements in the state service.[165] In this case Nazimov's opinion concurred with that of the majority of officials at the time, who thought that Polish students had provoked the disturbances at Russian universities in 1861. Similar proposals were put forward by Potapov, who was then Gendarmerie chief of staff. However, at the time the Western Committee was unwilling to restrict Poles entering higher education.[166]

The idea that a higher education institution founded in the NWP could protect Russian universities from the detrimental effect of Polish influence was attractive to the newly-appointed governor general of Vil'na, Murav'ev, who proposed in the autumn of 1863 setting up a university in Vilnius.[167] Such an institution was needed not only to protect Russian universities from negative Polish influence but also to train Russians suitable for working in NWP administrative institutions and schools. Like many other officials, Murav'ev thought that the Poles were to a large extent responsible for the disturbances in the universities:

> young people from the western gubernias left to complete their education in Russian universities and brought with them views which were most harmful for young Russians, as we can tell from the disturbances, which took place in the universities, where, as we all know, the trouble-makers and main participants were students of Polish descent.[168]

After this higher education institution was set up, "persons of Polish descent" were supposed not to be admitted to Russian universities at all, and people from the Kingdom of Poland were not to be admitted to Vil'na University under any circumstance. Murav'ev rejected this idea quite quickly, most



Fig. 18. *Petr Valuev (1815–1890)*

probably because it was criticised by Katkov's *Moskovskie vedomosti*, but the problem which, according to the governor general, Polish students caused in Russian universities, remained.[169]

The governor general of Vil'na returned to this matter in his proposals drafted on 14 December 1864, which he presented to Alexander II. These sought to limit the number of "students of Polish descent" in Russian universities to a maximum of ten percent. At the tsar's behest the Western Committee discussed Murav'ev's proposals on 17 and 19 May 1864. Only four committee members supported the governor general and the other seven people, who attended the meeting, along with Committee Chairman Prince Gagarin proposed not introducing a *numerus clausus* for Poles because revolutionary intent was a personal matter and the general number of "students of Polish descent" was irrelevant. On the other hand, in their opinion, there was no need to set a figure for all universities. Moreover, setting such a norm would be a repressive measure which would cause the situation to deteriorate further. Murav'ev's proposal came in for special criticism from Valuev. However, on 22 May Alexander II confirmed the opinion of the minority on this issue.[170] Education Minister Golovnin suggested revoking this measure several times, but this was not supported by the Committee of Ministers or the tsar.[171] It should also be stressed that bureaucrats were worried by the number of Polish students not only at



Fig. 19. *Aleksandr Golovnin (1821–1886)*

university but also in high schools. The imperial authorities decided to close down VED grammar schools which had an Orthodox minority.

One of the problems, which has already attracted historians' attention, involves how Catholic peasants, primarily Lithuanians, were treated with regard to the *numerus clausus*. Murav'ev's desire to block the way completely for "persons of Polish descent" to attend Russian universities has been viewed by historians in various ways. Some authors simply repeat the governor general's sentences word for word directly without adding any commentary, while others assert that the barrier was applied "to local inhabitants (officially only those of Polish descent) from the North Western Province;" another view argues that the measure was applied to Catholics in the NWP.[172] It is hardly worth discussing seriously the claim that by speaking of "persons of Polish descent" Murav'ev had in mind all the inhabitants of the NWP, including the Orthodox. Meanwhile, the claim that the governor general of Vil'na intended to apply the measure to all NWP Catholics is likely to be correct. We can answer the question of whether Murav'ev intended to apply the *numerus clausus* to Lithuanians, after finding out what the governor general meant in this case by the term "person of Polish descent," which he used on this and other occasions, as when he set certain conditions for admitting Poles to the higher education institution he planned to establish in Vilnius. After studying more carefully the project drafted on Murav'ev's initiative for opening a university in Vilnius, we have grounds for doubting

that the application of this prohibition to Catholic peasants (that is, first and foremost Lithuanians) was in line with the governor general's primary intentions. The "fate" of the Lithuanians is made clearer by the final point in the governor general's proposals, which says that all "persons of Polish descent" entering university were to pay caution money of 300 rubles as a guarantee of their loyalty. Such a sum did not suit even every gentleman's pocket.[173] On the one hand, this was a way of making future students more careful, while on the other, it may have been a way of keeping the petty gentry out of university. It was the petty gentry that had been active in the previous uprising and this was no secret to the authorities.[174] Moreover, we must not forget that the fees for study stood at 40 rubles in universities outside the imperial capitals, according to the new Russian imperial university statutes. The whole sum, which students had to pay, was clearly too large for a peasant budget. It is very unlikely that Murav'ev sought to prevent Lithuanian students from attending his proposed new university in Vilnius completely. Therefore, we consider that Murav'ev did not include Lithuanians among "persons of Polish descent" and left the way open for them to attend other Russian universities.

However, in practice the *numerus clausus* was applied to Lithuanians too. Only after the VED was visited by Education Minister Dmitrii Tolstoi in the early 1870s did the situation change. In the minister's opinion, the participation of Lithuanians in the uprisings could be explained by the fact that the Poles managed to draw them to their side. Now, the minister considered,

> if they [Lithuanians] are given the chance to study at university they will no doubt obtain Russian higher education and will not be allies for the Poles, since they have only religion in common with those, while their language and whole way of life are completely different.[175]

When seeking to discover whether the *numerus clausus* was applied to Lithuanians, we must not forget that Poles (including the Lithuanian gentry) were the first consideration of officials and in such cases they may simply have forgotten about the Lithuanians (that is, the peasantry).

Nationality Statistics

Historical research devoted to the western borderlands of the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century has often made use of nationality statistics, which, according to historians, allow us to gain a better understanding not only of the real distribution of the population according to nationality but also, for

example, the motives of nationality policy and so forth.[176] Often historians do not have much doubt concerning the accuracy of this material. However, as we know, until 1897 there were no modern censuses based on questionnaires. This fact alone should give rise to certain doubts over the credibility of various nationality statistics from our period. Moreover, we should not forget it was only in the mid-nineteenth century that the traditional political understanding of nationality was replaced by a more modern ethnolinguistic one. This means that in statistical censuses we may encounter the recording of gentry political nationality as well as modern ethnolinguistic nationality. Finally, bearing in mind the fact that the lands of the former GDL were the place where Polish and Russian nationality projects came up against one another, we should not be surprised by the politicisation of information about the national composition of the local population.

Here we will attempt to answer such questions as: what factors encouraged the imperial authorities to collect nationality statistics; how did nationality criteria change; and how did the authorities' view of the importance of nationality statistics and the possibilities for exploiting them change?

This topic is not completely new to historical research.[177] Lithuanian historians have noted that in censuses from the first half of the nineteenth century the concept of a political nation changed gradually to one of a nation defined by cultural factors.[178] In addition, Lithuanian historians have been interested in how reliable the collected national statistics are.[179] Russian historians assert that nationality statistics collected in the mid-nineteenth century changed the authorities' view of the national composition of the Western Province.[180]

In the first half of the nineteenth century the Russian imperial authorities collected statistical information about the population for tax purposes. Nationality statistics were not relevant to this aim. This, of course, does not mean that until the beginning of the "Great Reforms" in the middle of the century Russia did not have institutions or individuals who collected information about the national composition of the empire, including the Western Province.

First of all, there was the Russian Geographical Society, founded in 1845, and from 1849 known as the Imperial Russian Geographical Society [*Imperatorskoe Russkoe Geograficheskoe Obshchestvo*; henceforth – IRGO]. This society was interested in more than what the modern concept of geography might lead us to imagine. It was interested in statistics and ethnography, among other things, and established sections to deal with such topics. This society should not be regarded as strictly academic with

interests that separated it from certain other authority institutions. As Nathaniel Knight has shown, the "academic" vision held by the so-called "German" faction within IRGO was pushed out of the way by the concept of the so-called pragmatic "Russian" faction of "enlightened bureaucrats" (primarily the Miliutin brothers) which was oriented towards specific state needs.[181] One of the founding fathers of the IRGO, Academician Petr Keppen, was most productive in the field of nationality statistics. Keppen used available sources, including government inspection data. Later many other experts made use of the data he collected.

Officials in central institutions "examined ethnic differences among the populace" when they set off for the Western Province, and the local authorities, especially the governors, had to record in their annual reports the numbers of *inovertsy* [non-Orthodox] and *inorodtsy* [non-Russian], but the latter data, which were supplied by gentry leaders, local police officials, treasury offices and other institutions, did not stand out for their accuracy.[182]

In the Western Province itself the main statistics experts, including those dealing with nationality statistics, were members of the gubernia statistics committee. Sometimes their information on national composition was superficial too. In reports from various officials made to the Vil'na Gubernia Statistics Committee it was stated simply that "the population is varied in descent and religion, with most being Christians or Jews."[183] In other words, the most important criterion showing differences between local inhabitants was religion and there was not even any need to record descent.

In other cases local officials provided the Vil'na Gubernia Statistics Committee with more accurate information. The reports of certain officials, which were gathered in line with instructions issued by the Gubernia Statistics Committee, give specific figures for "population distribution according to ethnic group." Most interesting of all is that these reports only recorded those from the Kingdom of Poland as being Polish and so in some districts there were no Poles at all, while in others their number was small.[184] This principle of regarding all Catholic, Uniate and "new Orthodox" gentry and peasants as Lithuanians is very reminiscent of certain nationality statistics published locally by intellectuals. Michał Baliński's 1835 statistical description of the city of Vilnius records descent [*co do ich rodu*] and mentions Lithuanians but no Poles.[185] It is likely that the ethnic principle was employed in these cases.[186]

Such data, where ethnic origin is recorded but the population is not differentiated according to their actual nationality, i.e. their contemporary self-consciousness, estate affiliation, or mother tongue, could hardly have had any practical meaning. Moreover, the fact that nationality censuses

recorded gentry as Lithuanians still does not mean that they were not treated as Poles for political purposes. Thus in 1831, while he was still governor of Mogilev, Murav'ev put forward a broad nationality policy manifesto in the Western Province, using the terms "Lithuanian," "gentry of Lithuania," and "Pole" as synonyms.[187] Or, for example, in 1837 the Western Committee discussed an anonymous text On Spreading National Sentiment in the Empire's Western Gubernias, which asserted that the gentry of this region, who were still called Poles or persons of Polish descent, were either newcomers from Poland or local people of Russian descent, who "under the Polish yoke betrayed Orthodoxy and the customs of their forefathers."[188] In other words, (Russian) ethnic origin is mentioned but it does not say what the real nationality of the gentry was. At the time, in the 1830s national categories defining the population of the Western Province were still not clearly crystalised and the authorities were still not intending to use nationality statistics for ideological or political ends.

Somewhat later, at the end of the 1840s local officials attempted to collect data for practical use. Pavel Kukolnik, an official serving the governor of Vil'na and responsible for statistics, collected information about what language people used on the basis of reports from the clergy.[189]

The hitherto slight degree to which nationality statistics were ideologised is shown by the fact that at the time and in part at a later stage the authorities' experts in national statistics were members of the local gentry, whom the officials called Poles, for example, Kirkor, a member of the Vil'na Gubernia Statistics Commission.

The situation with regard to the collection of nationality statistics began to change seriously at the beginning of the so-called "Great Reforms" and it gained serious impetus in the Western Province from the active movement seeking to restore the Commonwealth of the Two Nations. Modernisation started from above encouraged the authorities, especially the "enlightened bureaucrats" to take an interest in the empire's national variety, which, according to D. Miliutin, could become a factor hindering the reforms. Statistics were important too to the Ministry of War, especially as a result of D. Miliutin's work. It was officers on the General Staff in the second half of the 1850s, who collected data in the Western Province and other parts of the empire, including data on the national composition of the empire.

As the Emancipation of the Serfs drew nigh in a great part of the empire, the political-, and intellectual elites were compelled to be concerned about the ordinary people's future ethno-cultural orientation, especially in the borderlands. Such interest in nationality statistics clearly showed the

modernisation of the empire, the significance given to ordinary people and the rise in the meaning of ethnicity and nationality as an important tool for political legitimacy. The significance given to nationality statistics also broke down the hierarchical concept of estate society. Literary ethnography began to develop in the mid-1850s which not only collected information about the various ethnic groups in the empire's borderlands but also in its own way integrated the ordinary people [*narod*] into the empire and the enlightened part of society.[190] The IRGO also contributed to this and its journal published, among other things, Mikhail Lebedkin's article on the national composition of the Western Province.[191]

In autumn 1860, as political demonstrations began in the Kingdom of Poland and spread quickly to the Western Province, preparations for an uprising became one more stimulus for collecting data about the national composition of the empire's borderlands. As has been noted, more and more members of the Russian ruling elite understood that it was impossible to come to a compromise with the Poles and that it was necessary to look for new nationality policy strategies.

In May 1862, when the "White" movement became active in Lithuania (there was a large meeting in Vilnius between 8 May and 15 May about which the authorities knew[192]), the central authorities attempted to gather information in secret about the number of "gentry of non-Polish descent" in the western gubernias.[193] It was hoped most likely in this way to find out upon which part of the social elite the authorities could still rely. However, local officials had difficulty collecting such data. Certain governors complained that there was simply no information about the origins of the clergy in the documents referred to by the central authorities.[194]

The increased need for nationality statistics also encouraged the central authorities to take the initiative and organise an ethnographical and statistical expedition to the Western Province. This idea seems to have arisen in the IRGO Ethnography Section and it won the support of Education Minister Golovnin.[195] The minister mentioned such an expedition in a report sent to the tsar on 8 September 1862 and this not only received support but also a grant of 10,000 rubles for the ministry for the expedition, which was supposed to take place in the following year.[196] IRGO was entrusted with the task of organising the expedition; at first it set up a special commission and after this the issue was discussed on several occasions in 1862–1863, during meetings of the Council and Ethnography and Statistics Sections. It would appear that one of the leaders of the Ukrainophile Movement, Mikola



Fig. 20. *Mikhail Koialovich (1828–1891)*

Kostomarov, took part in the 1862 planning stage but leadership of the event was given to those who were politically more trustworthy. The expedition's task was split into three parts to research the ethnography, religion and economy of the Western Province. The ethnographic part was entrusted to the well-known Slavophile Hil'ferding, while the religious research was entrusted to the above-mentioned Koialovich. Artur Bushen, was in charge of investigating the region's economy. He was also to oversee the work of three collectors of statistics.[197] It seems that Petr Shchebal'skii was supposed to join the expedition.[198] The said three members, Hil'ferding, Koialovich and Bushen, were to collect statistics in three Belarusian gubernias (Vitebsk, Minsk and Mogilev), three Lithuanian gubernias (Vil'na, Kovno and Grodno) and three Ukrainian ones (Kiev, Volyn and Podolia).[199]

Although the beginning of the Uprising forced the preparations and the work of the expedition to be postponed at the beginning of February, the need for such data remained.[200] Having failed to gain the help of the IRGO the Interior Ministry decided during the Uprising to gather data itself through its subordinate bodies.[201] Since the central authorities required data quickly an official from the Central statistics Committee, Aleksandr Troinitskii made quite an original proposal for a method of counting by removing the people of other descent from the general figure ("Poles, Lithuanians, Germans and others") or those of other religions ("Catholics, Lutherans, Jews and others").

The remainder should then be regarded as “Russians or people of Orthodox descent.” It was probable that the Russian figure would be considerably higher in this way. However, the Vil’na Statistics Committee selected another way of gathering data. The task was entrusted on this occasion to Kirkor, who used information he had gathered earlier.[202] Furthermore, this was amended in several ways including by asking clergy of various faiths to submit data. The data collected by Central statistics Committee are reflected in the table given below.

Table: *Population Figures According to Nationality*[203]

Gubernia/ Nationality	Russians	Poles	Lithuanians	Jews	Others	Total
Vitebsk	528,023	42,886	170,396	66, 750	10, 830	818, 885
Minsk	833,066	130,092	–	97,862	3,810	1,064,830
Mogilev	778,502	27,325	911	117,065	3,643	927,446
Vil’na	196,356	161,325	464,844	77,405	3,377	903,307
Kovno	33,628	25,487	836,139	104,947	17,000	1,017,201
Grodno	687,056	88,340	2,915	95,335	8,800	882,446
Total	3,056,631	475,455	1,475,205	559,364	47,460	5,614,115

Furthermore, in the 1860s two atlases were published containing nationality statistics.[204] New books were issued which sometimes used earlier data.[205] New data were supposed to be provided from information collected by the Central Statistics Committee concerning places of abode, the renewed IRGO expedition to the Western Province and the IRGO North Western Section, which was established in 1867. Admittedly, in the case of the expedition and the new IRGO section these intentions were not carried out straight away since Interior Minister Valuev opposed them. In both instances Valuev’s motives were of a more formal nature.[206] Thus it is probable that the minister was afraid that the gathering of data might be associated with an attempt to enforce a more radical Russification policy than the one he favoured.

These attempts to gather data in the late 1860s and 1870s concerning the national composition of the population differed considerably from the gathering of such data in the 1830s and 1840s, which we noted above. Gradually they adopted the same criteria for defining nationality. The establishment of such ctriteria was affected increasingly by academic considerations such as ethnography, which developed in Russia as *Volkskunde* (a discipline concerning the researcher’s own people) rather

than *Völkerkunde* (a discipline studying non-European peoples). However, academic arguments alone did not dictate nationality criteria at the time. As the development of nationality statistics elsewhere in Europe shows, discussion criteria used by experts in international statistics congresses in the mid-nineteenth century were also connected with the paradigm dominant in a particular country. The French were convinced that nationality questions were useless in censuses, for there was only one nation in France; while Austrian ethnographers (Karl von Czoering and others) asserted that asking individuals was not enough and that data should be complemented with academic ethnographic research; the Germans prioritised language, even though the last word in this case was to be given by experts and not those whose nationality was being recorded.[207] In this case the principles proposed by the French and the Germans differed like the concepts of nationality which dominated in those countries. Likewise in the Russian Empire we can see the influence of nationality policy on selecting nationality criteria.

The Slovak academic Pavel Šafarik enjoyed undoubted authority among Russian scholars and publicists at that time.[208] Šafarik was convinced that nations should be classified not only according to physical differences but also on the basis of historical data, and especially linguistic data. The existence of an independent, original, pure and grammatically perfect language, according to Šafarik, was the best proof of the existence of an independent nation.[209]

Academician Keppen, who had maintained contact with Šafarik, also considered language, *accuratius* the dialect of the common people, to be the most important criterion of nationality. Guided by this principle Keppen suspected that more than 100,000 Lithuanians in the official statistics record from the Grodno Gubernia were really Belarusians.[210]

The general staff officers, who used this criterion mostly, published their data in the 1860s. Certain of them stressed that religion should not be confused with ethnic descent.

> The Slavs divide into two groups, the Russians and the Poles. In the western gubernias all Catholics call themselves Poles, retaining the name Russian for all the Orthodox. But this opinion makes no sense for national descent. It is quite strange to mix the profession of a faith with descent from an ethnic group [*plemia*], which has mastered a well-known language and a specific well-known character. A person here who professes the Roman Catholic Faith does not know and does not wish to know that his ancestors may have been Orthodox.[211]

Thus ethnic descent is an attribute, which an individual holds from birth and should not disavow. Although, as we can see from the quotation given

above, its author, Pavel Bobrovskii, was trying to deny the deciding role of religion in determining nationality, in effect he showed the opposite: a Belarusian Catholic regards himself as a Pole because he is a Catholic, but should regard himself as a Russian because his ancestors were Orthodox. Thus we could understand Bobrovskii as follows: at present we cannot use religion as the most important mark of nationality in the Western Province because some Belarusians have disavowed the faith of their fathers. In other words, but for this deviation from the true road of history, it would be possible to base our definition on religion. I. Zelenskii stresses the importance of religion further still:

> Although Catholics, like the Orthodox, with a few minor exceptions, belong to one original ethnic group of White Russians, Black Russians and Podolians, the issue of religion here is vital because it resolves the even more important issue of nationality.[212]

Not only Zelenskii but also certain other authors, for example, one of the compilers of the atlases mentioned above, Roderik Erkert, considered religion to be a very important criterion for defining nationality.

However, the significance of language was mentioned much more frequently. Alongside arguments supported by the ethnographic principles dominant at that time, there were also political considerations. By following the religious principle a large number of Belarusian Catholics would be classified as Poles. Thus, Erkert's atlas was criticised strongly in the Russian press.[213] After the 1863–1864 Uprising language was recognised most often as the most important denominator of nationality in ethnographic descriptions, articles and preparations for the IRGO expedition to the Western Province.[214] Furthermore, it should be noted that Russian ethnographers placed particular stress on native language, that is, "the language a person speaks from childhood, which he uses constantly in his family and which, so to say, he has gained as his heritage."[215] If it were not for this precision they may have recorded the language a person used predominantly in social intercourse, and in certain Belarusian locations that language would have been Polish, which dominated in the Catholic Church. The role of language was not made an absolute. There were also records of "how people identify themselves, their historic past, way of life, sympathies and political convictions."[216]

Sometimes all Eastern Slavs were identified as Russians, while in other cases differentiation was made and they could be recorded as Belarusians or Little Russians, for example. However, this ethnic differentiation between Eastern Slavs did not undermine the dominant so-called tripartite ideologem



Fig. 21. *Belarusian figures, mid-nineteenth century*

of the Russian Nation. Admittedly, it was difficult to define who was a Russian. The Geographic Statistical Dictionary of the Russian Empire [*Geograficheskostatisticheskii slovar' Rossiiskoi imperii*] included articles about Poles, Lithuanians and such like, but not about Russians. A short description of the Little Russians was given as one of the component parts of the Russian nation.[217] Bearing in mind the variety of nationality criteria discussed here, this situation should come as no surprise. It was difficult to give a single definition to fit all occasions.

Identifying Lithuanians was also difficult. Although the ethnonym "Lithuanian" is used often, the term which was used most frequently was "Žemaitijan."[218] Often a double ethnnonym was used – "Lithuanian and Žemaitijan common people" [*zhmudskii i litovskii narod*], "Lithuanian and Žemaitijan nationality" [*narodnost' litovskaia i zhmudskaia*].[219] It is hardly important to give particular significance to the term used alongside one ethnonym or another. Koialovich, who was influential with the imperial authorities, used the terms "Lithuanian common people (or nation)" [*litovskii narod*], and "Lithuanian ethnic group" [*litovskoe plemia*], which speaks the "Žemaitijan language," as synonyms, when he was getting ready to take



Fig. 22. *Belarusian figures, mid-nineteenth century*

part in the ethnographic expedition to the Western Province.[220] This quotation from Koialovich, who was regarded at the time as a serious expert in matters relevant to the Western Province, shows that these terms had not gained a strict meaning so far. It is important that usually even recorded ethno-cultural differences, Žemaitijans and Lithuanians were treated as a single national group. Some officials thought that the ethno-cultural differences, especially in the case of language, between Lithuanians and Žemaitijans, were quite significant. When discussing the issue of publishing a journal for the ordinary people, Governor General Nazimov of Vil'na doubted whether one text would suffice for both Žemaitijans and Lithuanians or whether it would be necessary to publish in both dialects.

> Moreover, as the Lithuanian language differs little from Žemaitijan, which is understood throughout almost the whole of northern and north western Lithuania, the question of which language the journal should use or whether it should be published in both, should be decided after special discussion by persons, who are very familiar with the differences and similarities between these two branches of the ordinary people's language.[221]



Fig. 23. *Peasants from the Vil'komir District, mid-nineteenth century*

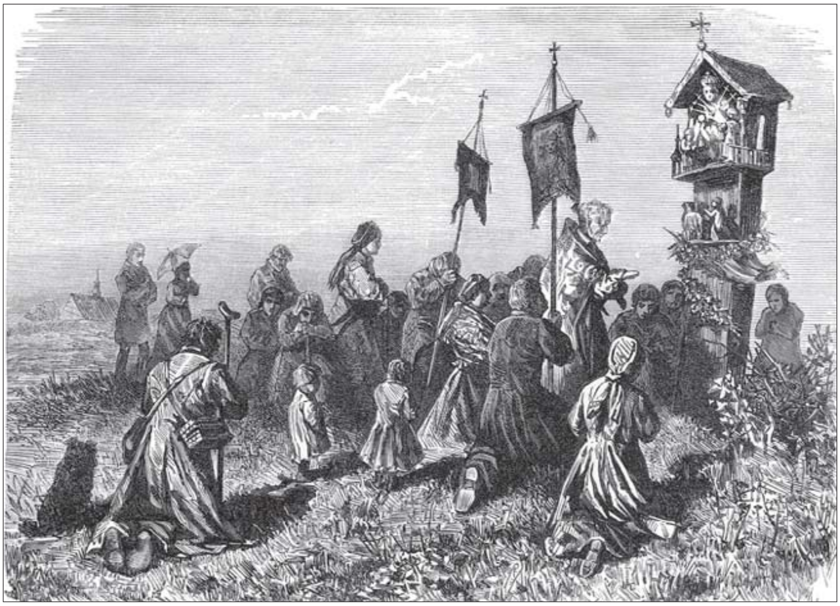


Fig. 24. *A religious procession in Žemaitija, mid-nineteenth century*



Fig. 25. *Latvians from the Vitebsk Gubernia, mid-nineteenth century*

Meanwhile Shchebal'skii was of the opinion that separate texts were needed in both the Lithuanian and Žemaitijan "dialects."[222]

When Interior Minister Sergei Lanskoi wished to publish the decree emancipating the serfs in both Lithuanian and Žemaitijan, it was explained that there was no reason to publish the laws in both languages because "the Lithuanian dialect is close to the Žemaitijan dialect and those who speak them understand one another."[223] Furthermore, in ethnographic descriptions or recording national composition Latvians were classified as Lithuanians.[224] There were cases where Lithuanians were treated as a branch of the Slavonic ethnic group, but usually they were regarded as a separate national group (as in Šafarik's work), despite the stress that was laid on their relationship to the Slavs.[225] The feature which most typified Žemaitijans and Lithuanians also most distinguished them from the Russians in the eyes of officials, namely their religious devotion (especially in the Kovno Gubernia), which was described often as fanatical.[226]

When the specific issue of the national affiliation of the gentry was being investigated officials used slightly different criteria. The highest criterion for identifying the nationality of the gentry was religion. All Catholic gentry from the Western Province were regarded as Poles. The Lithuanian or Belarusian origin of the gentry in nationality censuses, according to the dominant concept, was not important. When officials from the Central Statistics Committee saw that all the gentry in the Kovno Gubernia were listed as Lithuanians, while those in the Vil'na Gubernia were recorded as Poles, they explained that there was no difference in terms of nationality

between the gentry in both gubernias because "in the Vil'na Gubernia a significant part of members of the said class are ethnic Lithuanians, while others are Belarusians, although both, like the Lithuanians of the Kovno Gubernia, have been Polonised," so there is no difference between them.[227]

In comparison with the earlier period (1830s–1840s), the view of officials as to the utility of nationality statistics also changed. In the earlier period, as has been noted, nationality statistics had almost no connection with nationality policy. In the 1860s these data were required first and foremost for ideological reasons – it was necessary to deny the "concoctions" of the Poles.[228] In other words, the authorities sought to provide "proof" that the region was Russian, that Russians made up the majority of the population, that they had been in the area *ab orgine* and that the Poles were newcomers. Thus it comes as no surprise that doubts began to arise concerning national composition data provided by Poles. For example, after the suppression of the Uprising confidence in data provided by the clergy, especially Catholic clerics, decreased clearly. It was thought that they were deliberately reducing the number of Russians.[229] It comes as no surprise that the first Draft Statutes of the Western Section of the IRGO said that only Russians could be members of the society.[230]

Striving to reduce the number of Poles, of course, was necessary to the empire's propaganda offensive abroad. St Petersburg received reports from local authorities which said that the Poles were preparing for a future international congress with the intention of raising the issue of the tortured condition of 10 million people.[231] The authorities' aim was to show that Poles comprised only a small part of the population and so they had no right to speak in the name of the whole population of the region. It is not surprising that Erkert's atlas was published in French.[232]

Nationality statistics were also required when thinking about how to put policy into practice, especially for the monitoring of ethno-political measures. Governor General Nazimov proposed that in order to weaken the position of the Poles the principle of proportional representation should be followed in authority institutions.[233] The political aims of the aforementioned expedition became also evident in the debates of the IRGO. One IRGO expert said openly that the expedition's work was connected with nationality policy: it was to determine which ethnic group [*plemia*] was dominant in which area and what the national composition of local gentry and officials was. Having such data at their command, the authorities could not only counter the mistaken opinions Europeans had about Poland, but also protect each ethnic group [*plemia*] and confession from domination by others and, after determining the dominant nationality [*narodnost'*], they could introduce its language as

the language of instruction in schools and seek to ensure that the number of believers, clergy and places of worship would be the same for various confessions.[234] During the IRGO meeting of 23 October 1862 the aforesaid commission gave its views which stated that the data collected would reveal

> the circumstances hindering the development of the moral and economic wellbeing of the national group dominant in the Western Province (Belarusians, Lithuanians and Little Russians) and consequently it will enable the government to seek means to improve this wellbeing.[235]

Nationality statistics were also important in internal struggles within the imperial elite. Governor General Murav'ev of Vil'na, a supporter of harsh anti-Polish policy, was particularly keen on stressing the region's Russian character. Sometimes he even provided figures which differed significantly from all other available data. On 14 May 1864 he presented a plan for implementing nationality policy in the NWP and wrote that five sixths of the local population were Orthodox Russians.[236] Dolbilov is correct to sense that in this case the governor general could make such an assertion because in the six gubernias under his control Catholics formed the majority in only one (Kovno), while the Orthodox were dominant in the other five.[237] In this instance Murav'ev could not be outdone by Russian ethnographers of the day, who favoured the view that the national character of a region was determined by the numerically dominant national group of local descent. An opponent of Murav'ev's policy, Interior Minister Valuev, was inclined to use more accurate statistics, which were supposed to show that Russians were not the numerically dominant national group in the province. Valuev used statistical data collected by the Central Statistics Committee to halt the implementation of what in his view were over-radical anti-Polish measures, intending to replace officials "of Polish descent" with Russians.[238]

Alongside the aims of bureaucrats for using nationality statistics, which we have already outlined, these data also had another function, which, apparently, was unplanned and its consequences can be felt somewhat hypothetically. In this case we have in mind the nationalisation of officials involved in gathering nationality statistics. Let us look more closely at one episode, namely the collection of data by the Central Statistics Committee in 1866–1867, when a list was made of the places of abode of people in the Western Province. There was also an intention to collect data about religion and "descent or nationality [*narodnost'*]."[239] The data provided by local police officials from the Vil'na Gubernia were far from meeting the elementary

requirements and sometimes gave no indication at all of religion or nationality. Ethnic origins would be written into the religion column or *vice versa*. In one area from the Vil'na District Police Station all inhabitants were recorded as being "of Lithuanian origin," including Jews, and Russian Orthodox. We may suspect that even the authorities were contributing to the confusion. We have already mentioned that it was at that time (*circa* 1863) that the definition of "Polish descent" was taking on a clearly territorial meaning. Thus the authorities themselves seem to have been proposing in certain instances to understand descent in a territorial, rather than an ethnic sense. This is how the *ispravnik* (district police superintendent) of the Disna District behaved when writing that Jews were of "Lithuano-Russian descent," bearing in mind that those Jews' forebears had come from the Lithuano-Russian state, as the GDL was referred to in official Russian discourse. Continuing this motif, we must mention an even stranger case where Old Believers were said to be of "Lithuano-Russian descent." Clearly it was enough for a local official that the ancestors of these Old Believers had lived for a while in the "Lithuano-Russian state" for them to be described in that way rather than as "Russians" or "Great Russians," as the official from the Vil'na Statistics Committee required. Officials from the Vil'na Gubernia statistics committee were compelled to work out explanations for police superintendents so that the latter could understand clearly that they should not confuse ethnic origins and nationality with religion, social status or descent from a certain historical region.

Identifying Jews

Various non-Christian communities lived in the NWP, of which the most numerous was the Jews.[240] In official and public Russian discourse members of this non-dominant national group were referred to simply by the Russian word *evrei*.[241] However, Judeophobic publicists and officials in the NWP used the pejorative word *zhid* with increasing frequency from the mid-1860s.[242] If we believe the assertions of officialdom, non-Orthodox Jews in the region themselves used this term. In such cases the terms *evrei* and *zhid* served to distinguish Orthodox Jews, who were pro-Polish, from the younger generation of pro-Russian Jews:

> It is to be noted that in the localities here the younger generation of Jews call only themselves *evrei*, and the old generation, *zhid*. Such a difference in name has given those of the younger generation a chance

> to define the actions of the sons of Israel in the last Uprising. They say that 'the *evrei* did not take part in the Uprising, but *zhidy* out of self-interest did declare their sympathy for it and joined in the rebellion.'[243]

The terms "Russian citizens of Moses' persuasion" [*russkie grazhdane Moiseeva ispovedaniia*] or "Russian subjects of Moses' persuasion and Jewish descent" [*russkie grazhdane Moiseeva ispovedania, evreiskogo proiskhozhdeniia*] were used very rarely and were typical of bureaucrats, who were concerned not so much with the assimilation of non-dominant national groups in the empire's polyethnic borderlands as with assuring their loyalty, and such people simply followed the principles of justice and religious tolerance.[244]

Until the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the end of the eighteenth century Jews could not live in Russia legally. When Russian officials first had to deal with Jews, they began to distinguish between Jews in the West (the Sephardim) and the East (the Ashkenazim). Western European Jews were described as a group that was economically useful to society as a whole, while Eastern European Jews, whom the Germans called *Ostjuden,* were regarded as being involved in economic activities which parasitised society.[245]

Most of the imperial bureaucrats regarded Jewish integration in the west as a model to be followed in Russia. At the same time this was a justification for why Jews were treated differently in the empire than in western Europe. Historians frequently cite the infamous comment made by Uvarov to Max Lilienthal: "if we had such Jews as I met in the different capitals of Germany, we would treat them with the utmost distinction, but our Jews are entirely different."[246] Admittedly, the ruling elite did not agree on how this aim could be achieved. The more liberal part of the bureaucracy proposed first of all to abolish the discriminatory restrictions imposed on Jews in order to bring about their "merger" and "rapproachement" with gentile society, while more conservative officials proposed the opposite, namely that first Jews should "merge" and come closer to Russian society and then they could be granted equal rights.

Furthermore, officials noticed quite quickly that there were differences within the Jewish community itself between the adherents of a newly popular movement, the *Hasidim*, who stressed a different approach to spirituality, placing more emphasis on ecstatic prayer, religious zeal, and spontaneity, and an opposing faction, the *Misnagdim*, who dominated in the so-called Lithuanian gubernias. The Russian imperial authorities had even allowed

Jewish communities to have two synagogues.[247] However, there were also occasions when this terminology was used imprecisely. Thus in a report addressed to the education minister, VED Overseer Kornilov justified the introduction of compulsory study of the Russian language for Jewish boys in Vilnius by claiming that otherwise the "*Hasidim* and *Melamedim*" would have hindered children from attending Murav'ev's newly established schools.[248] To tell the truth, it may have been a deliberate confusion of terms rather than an imprecise reference in this instance. Perhaps Kornilov, who was noted for his Judeophobia from the mid-1860s in particular, was looking for a term with negative connotations in Russian discourse and was not too bothered by the fact that Vilnius was dominated by the *Misnagdim*.

There were even rare occasions when the imperial authorities "noticed" that Jews within the Pale of Settlement spoke different Yiddish dialects. In 1860 a new text of an oath was confirmed and translated into two Yiddish dialects, which today we call North-Eastern Yiddish and South-Eastern Yiddish.[249] Such "care" for the Yiddish language was an exception to the rule. Most bureaucrats, like the *Maskilim* themselves, regarded this language as "jargon" and hoped that it would die out.[250]

The authorities were more consistent in their attempts to differentiate between Jews according to their economic usefulness. In the 1840s and 1850s the authorities attempted to divide Jews into two groups. "Useful" Jews were those who lived in towns, traded or worked as guild artisans, and peasant Jews; the "useless" were those who had no occupation or property, or were artisans who did not belong to a guild. In order to implement this idea it was necessary to collect data about Jews. The differentiation was nullified by the ineffectual planning behind the Jewish census and later ineffective administration. On the other hand, this census was ruined by the mobility of the Jewish community and collective opposition to the administrative actions of the authorities.[251]

The authorities were quite consistent in distinguishing rabbinic Jews, who follow the Talmud, from Karaites, who rejected the tradition of talmudic exegesis, the Oral Law. Small Karaite communities lived in Lithuania, mostly in Trakai [Troki] outside Vilnius. As far as we can tell from sources and historical studies the Karaites, in the view of the authorities, were practically no different from Jews in the ethnic sense, but they obtained privileges because they did not have the Talmud, which was regarded as inciting Jews to take up "socially useless" activities and "exploit" others and so forth.[252] When speaking of Karaites, their diligence was noted. In 1795 the Karaites were exempted from the double taxation paid by Jews and in 1839 Karaites arriving from abroad were allowed to become Russian subjects and employ



Fig. 26. *An elderly Jew*



Fig. 27. *Two Jews*

Christian servants; from 1850 they were permitted to sell alcohol, and from 1852 there were no restrictions on their access to the capital; in 1855 Karaites with a university degree or medical qualification were allowed to join the civil service.[253] The "statute of Karaite emancipation," as it has been termed by Klier, as confirmed in 1863, declared that "Karaites under the protection of the general laws of the empire enjoy all the rights granted to Russian subjects, acordding to the social standing to which they belong."[254] On the other hand, some ardent Russifiers like Novikov lumped all Jews, "be they Talmudist or Hasidist, including the Karaites" into one despicable category.[255]

Thus, sometimes the Russian bureaucracy differentiated between Jews consistently or inconsistently according to several criteria. Officials did not have much problem deciding who was a Jew. First of all members of this group could be identified visually immediately. The outside observer could distinguish Jews from other townsfolk at once.[256] As we know, one of the authorities' aims was to make Jews abandon their traditional dress as part of the acculturation policy followed until around the early 1880s.[257] Jews were easily betrayed by their accent as soon as they opened their mouths to speak Russian.

The imperial authorities also had little trouble defining who was a Jew in legal terms. A Jew was a person of the Jewish religion. In some cases such definitions are recorded clearly in legal texts.[258] When a Jew converted to

any Christian denomination he ceased to be a Jew. Thus Nicholas I wrote in the margin after reading reports on Jewish cantonists that “those, who have adopted the Orthodox Faith, are not to be regarded as Jews.”[259] On the other hand, as historians write, the ethnic origin of Jews was obvious from their documents alone, since converts were allowed to change their first names but not their surname.[260] Under Alexander II the situation began to change. In 1865 the tsar granted a privilege to Jewish converts who had served in the army, whereby their service records were to show which class they had belonged to previously, but not their previous religion (Judaism), and they were allowed to take the surname of their godparents.[261] Only at the end of the empire’s existence did the political elite, especially its right wing, begin to doubt the wisdom of such treatment and propose discriminating against Jewish converts as well as real Jews. Historians give various reasons for why even Jewish converts to Russian Orthodoxy were still regarded as Jews be it a reflection of racialist views or simple distrust of the motives for their conversion (suspecting the move was merely pragmatic).[262] Even in the 1860s officials found cases where Jews treated a change in religion as an instrument for social advancement. After converting to Lutheranism the merchant von Leiba sought the exemption of his 1.440 desiatins of land from the percentage taxes. However, the governor of Grodno continued to regarded him as a man “of local Jewish descent,” who could not be classified as a person from the Baltic gubenias. Only when von Leiba converted to Orthodoxy was he exempted from these taxes.[263]

Despite such a clear criterion, which did not exist for the identification of Poles, the authorities found several problems with identifying who was a Jew.

Official statistics reveal that in the early 1860s there were 559,364 Jews in six NWP gubernias,who made up, in percentage terms, from 8.1 percent of the Vitebsk Gubernia to 10.7 percent of inhabitants of the Grodno Gubernia.[264] First and foremost bureaucrats themselves admitted that their Jewish statistics did not reflect reality because Jews attempted in various ways to reduce the number recorded so that taxes would be lower. An officer named Zelenskii on the general staff suspected that Jews comprised up to one sixth of all inhabitants in the Minsk Gubernia.[265] From the second half of the 1860s the Jewish problem came to the notice increasingly of nationality statistics experts.[266] However, this was not the only problem with Jewish identification.

From 1866 there was in Vilnius a Committee for Reorganising the Control of Jews [*Komissiia o preobrazovanii upravleniia Evreiami*; henceforth – KPUE] which raised the issue in one of its meetings of whether Jews were to be defined as “an estate, a religious community or some kind of ethnic

corporation.[267] Deliberation of this issue was conditioned directly by ambiguous legislation which ascribed Jews to a certain social group. Jews were members of the Jewish community. After the First Partition (1772) all Jews were subjected to the same tax, which differed in size from the taxes paid by peasants and merchants. This has allowed some historians to claim that Jews were treated as a separate estate or class at that time.[268] The abolition of the Kahals (Jewish self-administrative institutions) in 1844 did not mean that the Jewish communities were destroyed. Jews did not pay taxes individually but as a community; rabbinical courts still functioned and the community was responsible for providing conscripts for the army.[269] However, at the same time they were also members of an urban estate (as townsfolk or merchants).

The KPUE considered such a situation to be abnormal and proposed solving the matter in a radical way. So that no self-administering Jewish communities remained the KPUE proposed joining Christian and Jewish urban communities together administratively and making other Jews part of the rural district communities. Thus would differences between Jews and gentiles be reduced and they would be integrated more closely into the imperial estate system. This end was to be served by another proposal from the KPUE. The Committee proposed not allowing Jews to record any ethnic origin in official papers, including instead only the estate to which they belonged.[270] The intentions of the local authorities were indeed serious. In 1867 Governor General Baranov of Vil'na issued a circular containing information about the authorities' aims to class all Jews living in small towns and villages as part of the peasant self-government, the *volost*. Committee Chairman Platon Spasskii was sent to the Kingdom of Poland to learn about similar reforms being carried out there. Governors were instructed to gather the necessary data and give their opinion of the projects and finally Governor General Potapov invited Jewish representatives from the five NWP gubernias (Vil'na, Kovno, Minsk, Grodno and Vitebsk) in autumn 1869 to discuss these and other projects drafted by the KPUE.[271]

However, the legal confusion noted by the KPUE was not the only reason why it was difficult to formulate an unambiguous definition of what was a Jew. In official and public discourse descriptions of Jews as a community differed also because officials and publicists in the NWP selected a given definition of what made a Jew depending on the Russification strategy they favoured.

Undoubtedly Jews were described implicitly or directly in official and public discourse most often as a religious group. The idea that Judaism was the basic indicator of Jewish identity was propagated especially by officials and publicists, who held religious views of nationality. Judaism, in their

view, was what prevented the processes of "merger" and "rapprochement" between Jews and Russians:

> Judaism lives and breathes according to the Law of Moses and the Talmud; these include all the rules of their faith and morals, all civil and political laws. Experience shows that while the Jew blindly follows the Old Testament and the Talmud, he will not merge with the nation that surrounds him, nor be reborn, but he maintains his distinct nature; furthermore, having changed religion, Jews become Germans, Englishmen, Frenchmen and even Russians and cease being Jews.[272]

At the same time Jews were treated as an ethnic group [*plemia*]. Such a conclusion can be drawn not only on the basis of direct descriptions of Jews as an ethnic group, but also by the way Jews who converted to Orthodoxy were still called Jews. Thus in official correspondence Iakov Brafman, who became infamous after his conversion to Orthodoxy, was referred to by his origin as a Jew [*proiskhozhdeniem svoim evrei*], as a Jew *tout court*, or as a Jew of the Orthodox Faith [*evrei pravoslavnogo ispovedania*].[273] Using academic categories, we could say that the officials maintained a primordialist view and treated Jews as a collective group, whose members had shared innate qualities.

Alongside the term *plemia* [ethnic group] other descriptions were used such as a "separate nation" or "race."[274] But at that time, in the 1860s, this terminology had not yet crystallised and often the terms *narod* [nation], *plemia* [ethnic group] and *rasa* [race] were interchangeable: "we cannot expect the spread of the Jews to give rise to an interbreeding of the Slavonic and Jewish races to the detriment of the ethnic qualities of the Russians."[275]

Some local officials in the NWP were afraid lest the general stress being placed on nationality would have an effect on the Jews and they would not only think of themselves more and more as a separate ethnic or religious group but even begin to conceive of themselves as a national group.[276] Although these categories (ethnic group, religious group, nation and so on) were not all given a clear hierarchy in Russian discourse at that time, these deliberations show that officials were becoming more and more afraid of the possibility that not so much a process of Jewish acculturation and integration was under way as Jews were also becoming more consolidated internally as they were separated from the dominant Russian national group. In order that Jewish separateness be stressed they were often called a "separate corporation" or "caste."[277] Of course, such terminology should be treated not as an alternative to the discourse outlined above but as a supplementary

factor which most often was used only when officials were propagating a policy to abolish institutions which in their view supported the separateness of Jews.

We can find an instrumental definition of a Jew in the writing of Governor General Aleksandr Dondukov-Korsakov of Kiev. In order to justify the thesis that it was necessary not to allow Jews to buy or even rent landed estates Dondukov-Korsakov alleged that Jews were neither a religious nor an ethnic group but a community with its own special laws, which were held to be more important than the law of the land. These laws were claimed to permit Jews always to follow the principle of self-interest and observe the law only formally. By thus describing the Jews, in the governor general's opinion, it should be obvious that they cannot be permitted to rent an estate because, having no moral boundaries they would exploit the peasantry without restraint and thus the peasants would not be able to become farmers or rent estates.[278]

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The functioning of the nationality categories in various areas allows us to draw a few important conclusions. First of all, nationality definitions in official discourse reflected the dominant tendencies in concepts of nationality. These definitions were also determined by many other factors: the internal struggle within the ruling elite (for this reason the formulation "persons of Russian descent of Orthodox and Protestant religion," which appeared in the Decree of 10 December 1865, did not show clearly whether the law was applicable to Baltic Germans); the concept of political correctness (the same Decree of 10 December 1865 does not mention Catholicism as a criterion of Polonicity because the political elite did not wish to give the impression that it was discriminating on religious grounds); political and ideological motives (the aim to prove that the Western Province was Russian in an historical and ethnic sense, and that the Catholic Belarusians were Russians, led to the emphasis on ethnic criteria; sometimes we see an instrumental view in definitions of Jews as a community). On the other hand, the differentiation between imperial subjects on the basis of nationality nationalised the bureaucracy itself and forced it to think in national categories.

Despite the fact that official discourse avoided identifying Catholicism with Polonicity, religion was the main criterion for defining the nationality of the gentry and townsfolk when discriminatory policy was put into practice. Catholics were regarded as Poles, and the Orthodox as Russians.

When the issue of peasant nationality was being resolved there was also a certain confusion. Scientific and ideological arguments said that language

should be the most important factor defining nationality as well as ethnic origin so that, for example, Lithuanian-speaking Catholics were to be regarded as Lithuanians, Belarusian-speaking Catholics were to be Belarusians or Russians (in any case Belarusians were regarded as part of the Russian nation). There could be no ambiguity concerning Orthodox peasants; they were Russians. Such definitions were often followed in practice, that is, Catholic peasants were not subjected to discriminatory legislation aimed against the Poles; they were permitted to acquire land and did not have to pay percentage taxes. From the 1870s Lithuanians were not subject to a *numerus clausus*. However, we can see another tendency too, when religion was held to be the most important criterion for defining peasant nationality. Then Catholic peasants were regarded as "potential Poles," if not actual Poles (here we should remember the discussions about whether Catholic peasants should be subject to the 10 December Decree, the prohibition on Lithuanians working as teachers in primary schools in the Kovno Gubernia or the fact that at first the *numerus clausus* was imposed on Lithuanians in Russian education establishments).

This analysis also helps us to understand better how officials viewed assimilation processes. The confusion over imposing the percentage taxes, especially the discussion of who was to be regarded as a Baltic German, shows that assimilation was viewed as a long-term process extending over more than one generation. The Polonisation of ethnic Germans was associated with their being part of the political nation of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations and especially with their conversion to Catholicism. The application of the 10 December Decree, especially the way in which those Catholics who converted to Orthodoxy were regarded reveals the officials' view of the Russification process and how long it lasted. A Pole's becoming a Russian was regarded as a long-term process, which began with its most important step, namely conversion to Orthodoxy. Moreover only a cradle Orthodox Christian could be a true Russian. In other words successful assimilation could be expected only in future generations and the scale of assimilation depended on the numbers of converts to Orthodoxy.

Since, as we have seen from the material presented above, it was not believed that Poles could be assimilated quickly, the authorities selected a policy of segregation. Officials attempted to reduce the number of Polish landowners and force them out of the Western Province.[279] Poles were also supposed to be eliminated from authority- and teaching institutions (as teachers, students or pupils). This policy showed clearly that the integration of non-dominant national groups was not a priority for nationality policy

(although Governor General Potapov of Vil'na (1868–1874) did propose such a policy).

This analysis also helps us understand a little better the officials' view of the possibility for assimilating Catholic peasants. Here the largest problem was posed by Lithuanians. The fact that anti-Polish discriminatory policy was most often not applied to Lithuanians shows that the authorities believed that, even if they did not become Russians, they would not become Poles either and would remain Lithuanian. However, the cases we have shown, where officials applied discriminatory policy and regarded Lithuanians also as Poles or at least considered the possibility of their being Poles, show that they did not much believe that Lithuanians could become Russians. In other words, this shows that bureaucrats were afraid that Lithuanians, who had obtained education or more land, and become richer, would not remain Lithuanian or become Russian but would turn into Poles.

The matter of Jewish national identity in mid-nineteenth-century Russian discourse gave rise to different problems. Imperial civil servants had no great trouble in identifying individual Jews. Following Judaism was a clear sign of Jewishness and what is more, it was fixed in official reports. A Jewish convert to another religion ceased to be a Jew. Problems arose when officials had to say what Jews were as a community. In official and public Russian discourses we find in the 1860s alongside the dominant trend to treat Jews primarily as a religious group considerable confusion on account of several reasons. First of all confusion was caused by imperial legislation, which referred to Jews as members of one group (the Jewish community) or various estates. However, this reason alone is insufficient to explain why in the 1860s imperial officials were striving to determine who was a Jew.

The relevance of this problem increased as a result of more general problems, such as the attempt of the Russian intellectual-, and political elites to understand and define who was a Russian. As debates raged on how to define Russianness problems arose with defining the collective identity of other national groups.

V. Confessional Experiments

Certain historians of Central Europe, seeking to stress the importance of religion during the "long nineteenth century" call this period up to more or less the middle of the twentieth century, "the second age of religion." They oppose the theory of heightening secularisation and assert that religion played an important role at that time in social, cultural and political life. Moreover, historians claim that the influence of religion in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth can be described using the confessionalisation paradigm applied to the Early Modern Period, since in the nineteenth century too we can find similar processes of the uniformity, clericalisation, centralisation and social regulation of religious life.[1]

There is no reason to doubt the importance of religion in the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century. Earlier we discussed the concept of nationality in mid-nineteenth-century Russian discourse and offered the theory that religious denomination was often the most important attribute of nationality. To rephrase Gellner, it could be said that religion "inherited" from a person's ancestors cast a shadow on Russian subjects in the nineteenth century, which they could not remove throughout their lives. There could not be a person without a religion. As we know, even in the 1897 Universal Census there was no column marked "atheist."[2] Usually the authorities were inclined to treat religious affiliation as a stable and inherited phenomenon. The Law Code of 1832 stated clearly how "all peoples that inhabit Russia praise God Almighty in various languages in accordance with the law and confession of their forefathers."[3] Often a person who changed religion remained alien among his new brethren in faith.

Some historians also write about the similarity between confessionalisation processes in Central Europe and Russia. Dolbilov sees many similarities between the confessionalisation of the Russian Orthodox Church, as effected by Peter I, and Russian policy towards the Roman Catholic Church carried out after the 1863–1864 Uprising, although he also stresses the influence of nationalism.[4] Furthermore, it can be noted that English-speaking and Russian historians have a tendency to reject a view taken by Lithuanian, Belarusian and Polish authors, which claims that Russian religious policy was opposed consistently to "foreign religions." American historians have noted that in many cases the imperial authorities were compelled to work together with non-Orthodox clergy, especially until the mid-nineteenth century, and granted them a number of important functions, and so we can refer to Russia as a "confessional state."[5]

Here we will concentrate our attention only on confessional engineering projects, and the actual implementation of measures, which had, or could

have had assimilation as their aim: mass conversions of Catholics to Orthodoxy; the introduction of the Russian language in Catholic supplementary services, and the projected Church union. In other words, the empire's confessional policy will interest us not so much in the context of ideology or relations between the state and a specific Church, as how far it was a part of nationality policy.[6]

Many other elements of Russian policy towards the Catholic Church simply did not contribute to make inhabitants of the NWP change their religion directly, but indirectly they may have encouraged this process. Such policy measures included: increased observation of the activities of Catholic seminaries (to become a seminarian required permission from the governor general) and the extended use of Russian in such institutions; restrictions on the appointment and reappointment of clergy (no priest could be appointed dean, parish priest, curate or chaplain without Murav'ev's instruction to that effect in advance, and there could be only as many priests in a parish as there were posts); connections between priests and their flock or fellow priests were restricted (priests were not allowed to leave their parishes without permission; in many cases processions outside churches were forbidden); restrictions were introduced on the building and repair of churches, chapels and wayside crosses and so forth.[7] In many of these cases the authorities continued the policy adopted after the 1830–1831 Uprising and made it even stricter (with regard to the appointment of priests, the use of Russian in seminaries, and the building and repair of churches).[8]

Catholic Mass Conversions to Orthodoxy

Bearing in mind the subject of this book and the special role played by religion in national identity, we will be concerned primarily here with the issue of whether the imperial authorities strove to convert the whole, or part of the Catholic population in the NWP to Orthodoxy.[9] We will examine the ideological arguments used to justify such conversions; who initiated the process; whether disputes arose among Russian bureaucrats on this issue; what methods were used to effect these "return" to Orthodoxy and what caused the mass conversions to cease. Other problems linked with this matter, such as, for example, how the converts themselves regarded all that happened, and how the Catholic Church opposed the authorities' policy and so forth, will not be dealt with in detail.

Lithuanian historians, like those in certain other post-communist countries, provide a positive answer to the question of whether the imperial authorities strove to convert the whole or part of the NWP's Catholic population to

Orthodoxy. Some researchers into imperial policy with regard to the Catholic Church in the Western Province represent the views of the imperial officials as a united front, aimed at destroying Catholicism.[10] The Polish historian, Marian Radwan thinks that the Russian political elite, including Uvarov, Murav'ev, Potapov and Konstantin Pobedonostsev, maintained the same ideology, the essence of which amounted to "one religion, one nationality, one authority."[11] Lithuanian historians have paid special attention to Catholic opposition to the authorities' moves to convert Catholics to Orthodoxy.[12] The Russian historian, Dolbilov has represented the actions of local civil servants as an expression of their civil activity, that is, he has concentrated his attention on the motivation and self-representation of local bureaucrats. According to him, these civil servants imagined themselves not only as loyal subjects of the tsar but also as representatives of the Russian Nation, and they viewed the conflict with Catholicism as a fight to mobilise the masses.[13]

Official information about persons converted from Catholicism to Orthodoxy in the Russian Empire between 1842 and 1891 draws our attention to a very short period after the Uprising of 1863–1864. While in the second half of the 1850s and the early 1860s the number of Catholic converts to Orthodoxy reached around 1,000, in 1865 the number of such "reunited believers," to use the authorities' terminology, was already 4,254 and in 1866 – 49,498; the figure for 1867 was 13,639 and for 1868 it was 9,115. In subsequent years the number of converts declined further (1869: 3,332; 1870:

Table: *Catholic Converts to Orthodoxy, 1863–1867*

Gubernia/ Year	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867
Vil'na	91	540	2,543	13,810	1,791
Grodno	165	1,169	1,417	11,136	2,380
Kovno	6	97	44	303	16
Minsk	12	5,589	2,181	20,705	7,082
Vitebsk	52	485	267	1,619	278
Mogilev	28	122	335	524	189[17]
Total	354	8,002	6,787	48,097	11,736

Note: This table was compiled from the following material: file "Delo zakliuchaiushchee v sebe materially dlia vsepoddanneishego otcheta 1869 g.[oda]," LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 323, l. 134; News on the number of Roman Catholics converting to Orthodoxy from 1863 to July 1866 [Mogilev Gubernia], List of Roman Catholics of the Mogilev Gubernia, converted to Orthodoxy from July 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 2279, l. 19–20, 51–52; annual report for Mogilev Gubernia for 1866, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 121, b. 912, l. 36. Comparing these data with other gubernatorial accounts for this period, data published in *Litovskie eparkhal'nye vedomosti* or information gathered by the Inspection Commission, we come across certain inconsistencies, especially where the Kovno Gubernia is concerned, but the general tendencies do not give rise to any doubts.

2,893; 1871: 2,615 and so on[14]), that is, it almost returned to the "norm." These statistical data show clearly that the Orthodox Church had most success in increasing the number of its flock in the mid-1860s, especially in 1866. Most neophytes dwelt in the NWP. In total between 1863 and 1867 there were around 75,000 Catholic conversions to Orthodoxy in the NWP. The undoubted leader in these stakes was the Minsk Gubernia, where in 1866 alone 20,705 Catholics converted to Orthodoxy.[15] Although members of the nobility and gentry, and townsfolk featured among the converts, the absolute majority of neophytes were peasants.[16]

The Ideological Context

In Russian official and public discourse, as a rule, the mass conversion of the Catholic population of the NWP to Orthodoxy in the 1860s, was portrayed as a restoration of historic justice. According to the official version, all Belarusian peasants had been at one time Orthodox and only later were they "seduced" to Catholicism.[18] There were around 450,000 Belarusian Catholics in the mid-nineteenth century, while the number of Orthodox Belarusians stood at around 2,450,000.[19] In addition stress was laid on the forced, or at least crafty nature of conversions to Catholicism during the Commonwealth Period and the first half of the nineteenth century alike.[20] The mass conversions to Orthodoxy in the 1860s were portrayed in the opposite light. According to the terminology then employed, these conversions took place voluntarily and were referred to most often as a "return." The authorities' actions were regarded as a defensive measure, that is, they claimed that they had been "forced" to protect the peasantry from various "incitements," primarily from proselytisation on the part of the Catholic clergy.

Together with this primordialist interpretation of the national identity of the local population, another motive leading the local authorities to set about converting Catholic Belarusians to Orthodoxy was the common conviction that the religious sentiments of the peasantry were superficial.[21] Thinking that peasants could not see a great difference between Catholicism and Orthodoxy regarding dogma, local officials might have supposed that mass conversions could be effected quite easily.

In public and official discourse at the time it was possible to come across the belief that Orthodoxy had spread to ethnically Lithuanian lands earlier than Catholicism.[22] Sometimes there were similar claims about Poles in the Kingdom of Poland too.[23] However, the local authorities did not make any serious attempt to convert the Lithuanians to Orthodoxy, especially in the Kovno Gubernia: this was connected not so much with the otherness of

Lithuanians in an ethnic sense, in the view of local bureaucrats, as with the conviction of those officials that Lithuanians were deeply religious even to the point of fanaticism. As we can see from the statistics presented above, the mass Catholic conversions to Orthodoxy virtually had no effect on the Kovno Gubernia. Although Governor General Kaufman of Vil'na had hopes that "the peasants of this gubernia will merge with the rest of the peasant population in their common feelings of unchanging submission to the throne and love for their Russian Fatherland," he had to admit that thus far they had been "in full moral dependency on their harmful clergy."[24] According to the claim of the gendarmerie official of the Kovno Gubernia, there were Catholics in this gubernia too, who wished to convert to Orthodoxy, but they were "encountering difficulties bringing their intentions to fruition and were being persecuted by both the Catholic clergy and the Polish population, and lacked support in this instance from Orthodox believers."[25] According to a report from the head of the Vil'na Gubernia Gendarmerie Administration, the Belarusian population of the gubernia were converting to Orthodoxy but the Lithuanians, "who had been converted to Catholicism directly from paganism, had not adopted the Orthodox Faith to this day."[26] This is confirmed by other sources too. According to official information, the number of converts to Orthodoxy in the Troki District, where the population was regarded as Lithuanian, was insignificant in comparison with the total number of neophytes in the Vil'na Gubernia: in 1863 nine Catholics converted to Orthodoxy, followed by 39 in 1864, 107 in 1865 and 96 in 1866.[27] The thoughts of local officials presented above show that the task of converting Lithuanians to Orthodoxy was not the practical aim of a specific policy.[28]

There were few converts too in the Vitebsk and Mogilev gubernias, but Orthodoxy was predominant there in any case. For example, according to the Mogilev governor's report for 1866, Catholic made up only one twenty-third of the local population.[29]

Certain civil servants cherished the hope that Orthodoxy would be spread in local languages. There were proposals to introduce an Orthodox Liturgy in Lithuanian and hold services in that language.[30] Local officials were looking for Orthodox priests, who could speak Latvian in order to "spread and strengthen the state Orthodox religion in their midst."[31] Such a practice of spreading Orthodoxy was followed not only in the Volga-Kama Region (here we have in mind the activities of Nikolai Il'minskii) but also in the Baltic Gubernias.[32] After the mass conversion of Latvian and Estonian peasants to Orthodoxy began in the early 1840s, Bishop Filaret of Riga began to pay separate attention to training the clergy to preach in local languages. In 1843

the Pskov Spiritual Seminary started training priests to celebrate the Liturgy in Latvian and Estonian. By 1845 the Orthodox Catechism and Orthodox Prayerbook were being published in Latvian and, as the Rigan historian, Aleksandr Gavrilin suggests, Filaret not only demanded that priests know these languages but he also could speak them himself.[33] However, most probably bearing in mind the religious “fanaticism” of the Lithuanians, the authorities did not attempt to put these proposals into practice among that group. The authorities returned to the issue of translating the Orthodox Liturgy into Lithuanian in the 1880s, but even then it was not carried out.[34]

Thus local officials converted mainly Belarusian peasants to Orthodoxy. Therefore it comes as no surprise that the motives for “voluntary” peasant conversions to Orthodoxy, as they were termed at the time, were supposed to correspond with this ideological scheme. In the official or semi-official press as well as in confidential correspondence there were claims that the peasants had “returned” to Orthodoxy because they could still remember their Orthodox ancestors and recognised their “ethnic descent and community with ethnic Russian people;” they were grateful to the tsar (here they had in mind the Emancipation of the Serfs) and did not wish to be identified with the Poles, whom they hated, and Catholic priests had either compromised themselves or approached their duties negligently.[35] In this way they constructed an image of the peasantry as being the tsar’s loyal subjects and recognising their Russian roots. Only in rare circumstances does official correspondence mention information about the material incitements for peasants to change religion. Thus in the small town of Bystrica (Vil’na District, Vil’na Gubernia) the peasants, according to local officials, decided to convert to Orthodoxy because they had to pay Catholic priests too much for religious services.[36]

This means that the motivation of peasants, according to this ideological scheme, was first and foremost national, politically loyal and material:

> Let us say triumphantly that the present movement of the Lithuano-Belarusian people in favour of Orthodoxy can be explained not so much as a fully conscious adoption of the dogmas of Orthodoxy, the recognition of its supremacy over Latinism and the dogmatic inconsistency of the latter, as hatred of the idea of Polonicity, from which they flee to the Russian Faith and after being united with this their understanding and consciousness recall their poverty, inferiority, oppression and general misfortune.[37]

If the religious views of Catholic Belarusians were superficial and their motivation for converting to Orthodoxy was completely secular, in this case the local bureaucrats ought to have foreseen that at first at least Orthodoxy would not sink deeply into the consciousness of the neophytes. But this does not seem to have troubled the local Russifiers in the least. One of them even washed his hands of the issue, saying that "Orthodox atheism is of more use to the western gubernias than Catholicism."[38] This expression reveals once again nicely that, for some officials at least, religious motives were not the most important part of the mass conversions.

In this ideological context another question arises: was this "return" to Orthodoxy regarded as Russification, or, in other words, did the Belarusian peasants become Russians, according to local civil servants, after they converted to Orthodoxy? According to our information, bureaucrats or public campaigners spoke about this very seldom and if they did speak out this was not in their own name but "relating" the opinion of peasants: "if the ordinary folk reconverted to Orthodoxy, they were saying directly that they had been Poles and now they were Russians."[39] Why did the bureaucrats themselves not use national categories in their descriptions of Belarusian Catholic converts to Orthodoxy? Clearly there were several reasons for this. First of all, bearing in mind the ideological scheme outlined above, these peasants had been Russians anyway and so it would simply not have been either logical or politically correct to speak of their "return" to the Russian Nation. Secondly, when talking of the practical rather than the ideological context, it must have been obvious to local officials that national affiliation could not be changed in such a short time, even though we are dealing here with peasants rather than the higher social strata.

The official press also boasted of the "return" of local landowners to Orthodoxy. The reconversion of Prince Aleksandr Drutskii-Liubetskii was advertised with particular gusto.[40] However, on the other hand, the authorities could see that at least some local landowners were expressing a desire to convert to Orthodoxy in expectation of gaining privileges. Thus several landowners from the Vil'na District of the Vil'na Gubernia declared their wish to convert to Orthodoxy to the officer of gendarmes, "but wanted to know whether the government would regard them as Russians," that is, they were hoping that then they would be able to avoid the discriminatory measures, which were being directed against "persons of Polish descent and the Catholic religion," and be able to take advantage of the privileges set aside for "persons of Russian descent and the Orthodox religion."[41]

The process of changing confession was more complex than was acknowledged in the official and semi-official accounts.

The Role of the Local Authorities

The reasons for such a sharp increase in the number of neophytes in the NWP after the suppression of the 1863–1864 Uprising should be sought in changes in the imperial authorities' nationality policy.

Historians regard the beginning of mass Catholic conversions to Orthodoxy sometimes as having been linked with Governor General Murav'ev of Vil'na and this process really did begin in 1864, but various sources exist, which allow us to suggest that Murav'ev was not a zealous supporter of the mass conversion of Catholics to Orthodoxy.[42] An interesting episode in this regard comes from the diary of the Orthodox bishop of Minsk, Mikhail (Golubovich), who in fact was a former Uniate. In 1858 during a trip to Minsk Murav'ev, who was then the minister of state property, had a meeting with Mikhail and the Catholic bishop of Minsk, Adam Wojtkiewicz, where he criticised the Orthodox clergy for not taking care of Orthodox churches, and praised the state of Catholic churches.[43] In this episode Murav'ev stands before us not as an anti-Catholic Russifier but as a civil servant anxious for the wellbeing of all confessions tolerated within the empire. Although after 1863 an anti-Polish and anti-Catholic atmosphere prevailed and at that time Murav'ev would hardly have been able to harbour such "tolerant" thoughts again, the episode described by Golubovich allows us to cast doubt on the justice of those utterances, which present Murav'ev as an official striving to destroy the Catholic Church. In favour of such a suggestion we may adduce the afore-mentioned statistics: this process took on a large scale under Murav'ev's successors. Of course, he rejoiced at Catholic conversions to Orthodoxy and did not, it seems, take against the proposal of Archbishop Mikhail to set up a missionary society under the title of The Religio-Political Society for Propagating Orthodoxy.[44] The governor general supported gentry converts to Orthodoxy but, on the other hand, Murav'ev stressed that "the inculcation of deep consciousness of religious duties and the confirmation of faith on unshakeable foundations depends on the clergy and their way of behaviour not on the secular police authorities."[45]

The same statistical evidence indicates clearly the participation in these processes of Murav'ev's successor as governor general, Kaufman (1865–1866), who, in the words of one local official, "was Orthodox and completely Russian, despite his German surname."[46] In the Vil'na Gubernia, according to the report of the officer of gendarmes, "the movement in favour of Orthodoxy" began at the beginning of 1866 and by September of that year "it had almost ceased."[47]



Fig. 28. *Konstantin Kaufman (1818–1882)*

Kaufman, as his utterances on the introduction of Russian into supplementary Catholic services show, believed firmly in the possibility for regulating religious life with administrative measures. Bearing in mind such views on the governor general's part, it is no surprise that he placed great hopes in authority structures for converting Catholics to Orthodoxy. This campaign received a tangible impetus after the welcome shown by the tsar in spring 1866 to Prince Nikolai Khovanskii, one of the most zealous enthusiasts for converting Catholics to Orthodoxy.[48]

Forced "direct conversions" on the initiative of the civil service ran contrary to the stance and policy of Interior Minister Valuev.[49] We might concur with a Russian researcher of the day, Sergei Rimskii, who claimed that Valuev was not a supporter of excessive pressure on the Catholic Church and preferred a policy of toleration (according to the understanding of the word at that time), which, of course, did not stop him from implementing such measures as were necessary to strengthen the position of the Orthodox Church.[50] As a point of departure for determining Valuev's views of these problems we have a characteristic phrase from one of his letters to the editor of the *Moskovskie vedomosti*, Katkov: "Russia has been formed such that she cannot escape Latinism. This is not a supposition but a fact established by History, and hence, the Divine Providence."[51] Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the minister immediately became an opponent of the coercive measures being carried out in the NWP, including where the Catholic Church



Fig. 29. *Nikolai Khovanskii*

was concerned. In his diary Valuev expressed dissatisfaction with the appointment of Kaufman many times, as well as his disagreement with Kaufman's policy.[52] Although formally subordinate to the interior minister, Kaufman felt the support of War Minister D. Miliutin and certain other influential St Petersburg personages, and so he attempted to take his own line.[53] Of course, the governor general's anti-Catholic campaign was only one area, where the views of Valuev and Kaufman came up against one another.

At the end of September 1866 Tsar Alexander II suddenly, at least for Kaufman and his protectors, decided to replace him as governor general. Not only Iurii Samarin, who followed all events in Vilnius, where his brother was serving, but also Kaufman's protector in Petersburg, D. Miliutin, were unaware of the real reasons for Alexander II's decision.[54] One of the reasons for removing Kaufman, according to the Moscow historian Komzolova, was the stance taken by the governor general in repealing martial law in 13 NWP



Fig. 30. *Dmitrii Miliutin (1816–1912)*

districts in summer 1866 without the knowledge of higher-ranking officials.[55] However, the removal of Kaufman from office, most probably, was influenced by his disagreements with Valuev and Third Department Chief Shuvalov, over confessional policy, among other things. After the unsuccessful attempt on the tsar's life on 4 April 1866, when, in the words of D. Miliutin, "the dark forces of reaction gained the upper hand," "the Polish intrigue resounded loudly," "complaints against K. P. Kaufman reached the ears of the sovereign."[56] Valuev was only waiting for a suitable moment and in his conversations with the tsar he laid the grounds for removing the governor general of Vil'na; finally in September 1866 Alexander II resolved to dismiss Kaufman. Rumours were rife in the NWP to the effect that he had been removed because he was involved in the mass conversions to Orthodoxy.[57] According to the report of certain local officials, there were rumours that apparently Kaufman had been removed for "persecuting Catholicism."[58] Notes in the diary kept by the interior minister, who, as we have noted, was one of the main instigators of the dismissal, would seem to confirm the version that Kaufman's anti-Catholic policy had become at least one of the motives for his dismissal. This is what the interior minister wrote in his diary on 10 October 1866 with regard to the tsar's signing of Kaufman's dismissal warrant:

> it is frightening that our government does not base itself on a single moral principle and is not acting according to one moral force. Respect

> for freedom of conscience, for personal liberty, for the right of property, for the feeling of decency is completely alien to us. We only profess moral themes, which we regard as useful to us and we do not force ourselves to follow them in the least, until we discover they are somehow of advantage to us. We are seizing churches; we are confiscating property; we are destroying systematically what we do not confiscate; exiling tens of thousands of people; we allow appearances of human sentiment to be branded as treason; we are stifling instead of administrating and together with this we are establishing a magistrature, a public court and freedom or semi-freedom of the press.[59] [underlining added]

The new governor general of Vil'na was a Lutheran, Baranov, who was descended from a family in the Estland Gubernia.[60] The religious affiliation of the province's new governor general, it seems, ought to have guaranteed that an end had come to Kaufman's policy, especially in the confesional sphere. Valuev and the Catholic clergy in the NWP alike hoped that this would be so.[61] There was even a rumour that there was "a secret instruction to governors not to allow peasants to convert to Orthodoxy."[62] Some memoir writers claim that apparently "Baranov could not have had any sentiments towards Orthodoxy, and so the lighted flame became extinguished in a flash."[63] But in many ways the new governor general continued Kaufman's policy and, according to one contemporary, "he tried to surpass his Orthodox fellows in his zeal for closing Catholic churches."[64] In certain cases he even proposed more radical measures regarding the Catholic Church in the NWP than his predecessors. Baranov proposed removing Bishop Motiejus Valančius from the Diocese of Žemaitija (Telšiai), dismissing the bishop of Minsk and leaving only one Catholic seminary throughout the empire.[65] The new governor general was also concerned for the spread of Orthodoxy, especially as when Alexander II was in Vilnius he gave it clearly to be understood that he was pleased by the mass peasant conversions to Orthodoxy. The official local newspaper reported Alexander II's words to former Catholics as follows:

> We are most pleased to see you are Orthodox; we are sure that you have converted to the ancient faith of the province with conviction and sincerity; know that in no way will we permit or allow those who have adopted Orthodoxy to return to Catholicism; know this and tell it all your people from us; are you listening? I repeat, I am glad to see you are Orthodox.[66]

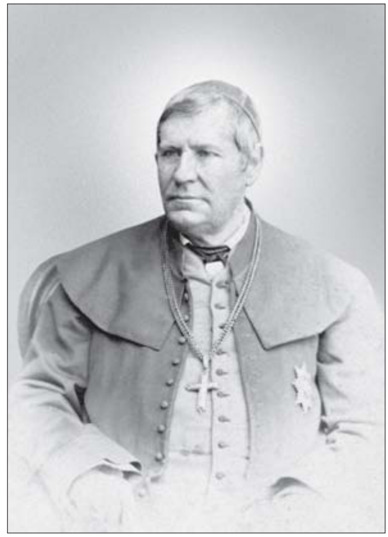


Fig. 31. *Motiejus Valančius (1801–1875)*

Local officials attempted to use this fact in their missionary activities. They gathered peasants together to hear the tsar's message to peasant converts to Orthodoxy.[67]

On the other hand, the governor general stressed in his proposals addressed to the central authorities that it was necessary to "increase supervision of the non-intervention of the secular authorities and administration in religious matters."[68] Valuev also noted wavering in Baranov's policy:

> he [Baranov] has not adopted either of the views regarding the province's affairs, which are dominant in the higher circles of government, in his leadership, and has wavered between both and, evidently, has supposed that somewhere in the middle he should find the sovereign's view.[69]

Justices of the peace, district chiefs, district police superintendents and police officers were involved directly in converting the local population to Orthodoxy, according to Potapov.[70] This very fact shows that the methods adopted were far from being religious instruction or missionary dialogue. Even the Orthodox bishop of Lithuania and Vilnius, Makarii, admitted in 1869 that "the very uniting of these Christians with the Orthodox Church was not being accomplished by the Orthodox clergy alone by dint of preaching but most of all by cooperation with the civil authorities."[71] Many other sources

also indicate the active participation of local officials in the mass conversion of Catholics to Orthodoxy.[72] The local authorities attempted to win them, like other activists, over with various rewards.[73] The military chiefs stood out in particular for their zeal (some were not even Orthodox themselves, but Protestants), as did gendarme officers and also justices of the peace.[74] Sometimes local officials acted on their own initiative and their superiors only found out about "returns" to Orthodoxy after they happened.

Certain contemporaries, opponents of Kaufman's "police propaganda" in religious affairs, indicated too the active participation of Jews in "talking peasants into" converting to Orthodoxy.[75] In this case, of course, we should bear in mind the fact that the opponents of Kaufman's methods wished to use the actual or alleged participation of Jews in this matter to blacken the process as far as they could. What indeed could be more demeaning than cooperation between Orthodox and Jews in missionary work among Catholics?

Of course, the mass conversion of peasants to the dominant religion could not take place without the participation of the Orthodox clergy but campaigners for the mass conversions and other contemporaries still stressed the passivity or incapability of Orthodox clerics to take an active part in this process.[76] What was even worse, in the opinion of local officials, some Orthodox priests in effect hampered this task by taking too much money for services or demanding that the neophytes "knew and observed exactly all the details of Orthodox rituals."[77]

Methods of "Direct Conversion"

As early as 1865 certain campaigners were complaining that there was no plan or uniformity to the actions of local authorities and the Orthodox Church regarding the conversion of the local population to the dominant religion.[78] In part the Inspection Commission for the Affairs of the Roman Catholic Clergy in the North Western Province [*Revizionnaia komissiia po delam rimsko-katolicheskogo dukhovenstva Severo-zapadnogo kraia*; henceforth – the Inspection Commission], set up at the beginning of 1866, was supposed to resolve this problem of coordination. Admittedly, it was not involved in the conversions themselves, but reducing the number of Catholic churches and chapels and also determining a "normal quota of Catholic priests."[79] The Inspection Commission was run by the civil servant for special affairs subordinate to the governor general of Vil'na, Aleksei Storozhenko, who, even before the commission was established, was actively involved in converting villagers to Orthodoxy. In effect, Storozhenko showed the most initiative in this matter. On his initiative the process took on a



Fig. 32. *Aleksei Storozhenko (1805–1874)*

systematic form. Despite the complaints mentioned above concerning the lack of coordination in this affair, we can still discern some quite common methods, which local authorities used to convert people to Orthodoxy.

At first the imperial authorities had to raise the status of Orthodoxy in the eyes of local people. Civil servants often noticed that the prestige of Catholicism as the "gentry" religion, especially among peasants, was higher than that of Orthodoxy. Therefore, when attempting to raise the informal status of the "dominant religion," local officials began to campaign during public meetings for people to convert to the "tsar's religion." It must be prestigious to profess the same religion as the tsar.

Storozhenko wished to make use of Catholic priests themselves for conversions to Orthodoxy.

> At present the government has adopted a very irreproachable system for conversions to Orthodoxy: Catholic priest introduced the Latin religion into the Western Province and now, to use the proverb, 'a wedge will be driven in' and Catholic priests will convert Catholics to Orthodoxy. It would be hard to find better propagandists, for where proselytisation is concerned, Catholic priests are masters of the art.[80]

Certain proponents of this idea paid special attention to buying the sympathies of the Catholic clergy.[81] Some local bureaucrats did not view Catholic priests

as fanatics for their religion but as mercenary men, prepared not only to change religion for material gain but also to lead their parishioners to Orthodoxy too. Such a practice, according to Storozhenko, had borne fruit in the Minsk Gubernia and so it should be extended to other gubernias in the North Western Province.[82] Especially loud renown was won by the conversion of Fr Ioann Streletskii and the parishioners of Paberžė [Podbereze] in 1866.[83] Some such priests were not respected even by local Russian activists. One of them commented on the proposal of a priest to adopt Orthodoxy along with his parish of 400 people, if he were paid 1,000 rubles:

> it seems to me that the government should not think of acquiring 400 Orthodox souls for 1,000 rubles; this would be 2 rubles 50 kopeks per item, and what use would there be from that in the future! This is a trait that characterises the Polish clergy finely![84]

The conversion of Catholic priests to Orthodoxy not only promised Orthodox zealots immediate practical benefits (the gaining of whole parishes) but also gave them the wherewithal for future campaigns (the conversion of priests to Orthodoxy must have had a very negative impact on the mentality of the Catholic population), as also we may suppose, in the factional infighting that affected bureaucratic circles. The active part of the Catholic clergy in this process would have illustrated how the conversions were not being forced, apparently. Therefore it is not surprising that when Catholic priest joined Orthodoxy this was advertised intensively in the periodical press.

In the reports of local officials or newspapers concerning mass conversions to Orthodoxy, it was almost always stressed that the conversions were voluntary. Of course, official instructions referred only to methods of suggestion. Officials of various ranks stressed that in this matter activists should "act as circumspectly as possible, attempting to lead people to Orthodoxy with short measures of suggestion and persuasion rather than rushing to extremes and using severe measures."[85]

As in many other instances, the "carrot and stick" approach was taken to converting Catholics to Orthodoxy. Sometimes after changing religion peasants received certain material benefits (such as plots of land or forest to build houses, pecuniary sums and so forth) and they were paid up to five silver rubles.[86] Gentry who converted to Orthodoxy also had to be given estates on state land.[87] Local authorities also sought possibilities for landowners who converted to Orthodoxy to be employed in the state service.[88] Such persons were exempted from the percentage taxes.[89] Changing religion sometimes helped avoid exile.[90]

Other measures were employed alongside encouragements. Here we should remember that, according to laws then in force, a person, who expressed a desire to convert to Orthodoxy, first of all had to give a written undertaking to do so and only later came the church ceremony (converts had to swear an oath of loyalty to Orthodoxy, go to confession and take Communion before he was registered in the church record). In the case of mass conversions in the Baltic Provinces in the 1840s a six-months' trial period was established from the time a person expressed a desire to convert and the actual conversion.[91] In the NWP a written undertaking and an oath sufficed for a Catholic to become Orthodox because "the written undertaking is an obligation in civil law, which prosecutes those who betray the State Church; an oath is a promise to God, who in given time will deal with those who have sworn according to His word."[92] In addition even official correspondence from this time shows that there were instances when wives, children and other kin appeared in lists of those peasant males who expressed their desire to convert.[93] In other cases signatures were obtained through deception.[94] Potapov claimed that "often Roman Catholics appeared on the list of converts to Orthodoxy with whole villages not only without their consent but also without their knowledge."[95]

Quite a different picture is painted, compared with the official version, in the complaints and appeals signed by Catholic peasants. For example, the peasants of Zaslav Rural District (Minsk District, Minsk Gubernia) claimed that local officials, aided by Cossacks, forced them into the Orthodox church, beat them and baptised them by force.[96] In such instances the authorities always sought out the instigators of these complaints and in the absolute majority of cases they "proved" the baseless nature of these accusations and, as a consequence, requests to remain Catholic were rejected.[97] Not only peasants who "returned to Orthodoxy" complained of the use of force. Information was sent to newspapers in the capital giving quite a terrible picture of the "voluntary" conversions to Orthodoxy. For example, a letter sent to *Vest'* described the practice of one justice of the peace:

> he locks the stubborn in cold confinement and does not give them food for several days. This dear and honoured old man numbers among the most moderate activists (there are not many like him). Another (of which type there are many) goes even further, that is, if cold and hunger have no effect, they use the birch and Cossack riding crops on the obstinate, taking no account of fist fights used in the intervals and it turns out that the new recruits join the Orthodox Church with swollen and bloodied faces, as undoubted proof of their voluntary conversion to the Orthodox Church![98]



Fig. 33. *Aleksandr Losev (1819–1885)*

Such information reached Interior Minister Valuev too.[99] Even at the height of the conversions in 1866 certain local officials admitted unexpectedly that in this case they could not get by without coercive measures. For example, the Vilnius gendarmerie officer, Aleksandr Losev wrote that the conversion of the peasants to Orthodoxy "was achieved without special use of force."[100] Storozhenko was in effect prepared to justify any measures:

> reading the stories of the former torture and oppression of Orthodox people, all Russians, Orthodox believers, are fuelled with indignation that even if the return of Catholicised people to the bosom of Orthodoxy was accompanied by coercive measures, then that should not disturb the conscience of the most moderate of people.[101]

Officials from the Interior Ministry who carried out inspections in the NWP in 1867 claimed that "the civilian authorities have approached religious freedom of conscience with the assistance of physical force, using mediaeval methods."[102]

Another measure which should have facilitated this process (even though in some cases it came as a result) was the closure of Catholic churches and chapels and the conversion of some of them into Orthodox places of worship; and this was sanctioned by the highest authorities. As sources indicate, the systematic closing down of Catholic churches and chapels took place when



Fig. 34–35. *St Joseph's Church, Vilnius*



Kaufman was governor general of Vil'na, even though the process had begun in Murav'ev's day. In July 1865 the governor general instructed governors to present "their considerations for the new formation of RC parishes, which would satisfy the actual needs of parishioners," which in effect meant instructing plans to be formed for reducing the number of Catholic churches and parishes.[103] At the beginning of 1866 this task was given to the Inspection Commission.[104] Here it was decided that this problem should be resolved systematically, beginning with the Volkovysk District of the Grodno Gubernia, where the highest number of Catholics had converted to Orthodoxy (by the beginning of 1867 the figure had reached 10,154 souls). Apart from domestic altars and chapels it was proposed that four churches be closed (one of them was to be converted into an Orthodox church) and four parishes be abolished, with their remaining parishioners being sent to other parishes.[105]

In all, according to certain data, in five NWP gubernias alone 375 Catholic churches, monasteries and chapels were closed down between 1864 and 1 June 1869: 70 in the Vitebsk Gubernia; 62 in the Grodno Gubernia; 84 in the Vil'na Gubernia; 145 in the Minsk Gubernia and 14 in the Kovno Gubernia.[106] For the most part Catholic places of worship were closed down between 1864 and 1867 and only in the Vitebsk Gubernia did more than half of these closures take place in 1868–1869. A considerable part of these buildings had been handed over to the Orthodox Church by June 1869, while the rest awaited a similar fate. Some, according to the official phrase, were "transferred to Orthodox control" (in the Vitebsk Gubernia such a fate befell 33 former Catholic places of worship, 50 in the Grodno Gubernia, 51 in the Vil'na Gubernia, 61 in the Minsk Gubernia and one in the Kovno Gubernia).[107]

Most probably in connection with the fact that the closure of churches and the conversion of some of them into Orthodox churches between 1865 and early 1866 grew quite considerably, the central authorities decided to confirm this procedure more quickly and on 4 April 1866, that is, even before Dmitrii Karakozov fired his shot, Alexander II issued a decree indicating the cases where the governors general of the NWP and SWP could permit the closure of Catholic places of worship: chapels of ease and other chapels were closed when they had been built without permission or had become known as "harmful;" parish churches had to be closed when most of the parishioners converted to Orthodoxy and there was a small number of Catholic parishioners, or for other very important reasons. The interior minister was notified after the decisions of the governors general had been implemented. In September that same year the procedure was changed and churches and chapels could be closed down only after the Interior Ministry had been informed in advance of such a move.[108] This change in the way decisions

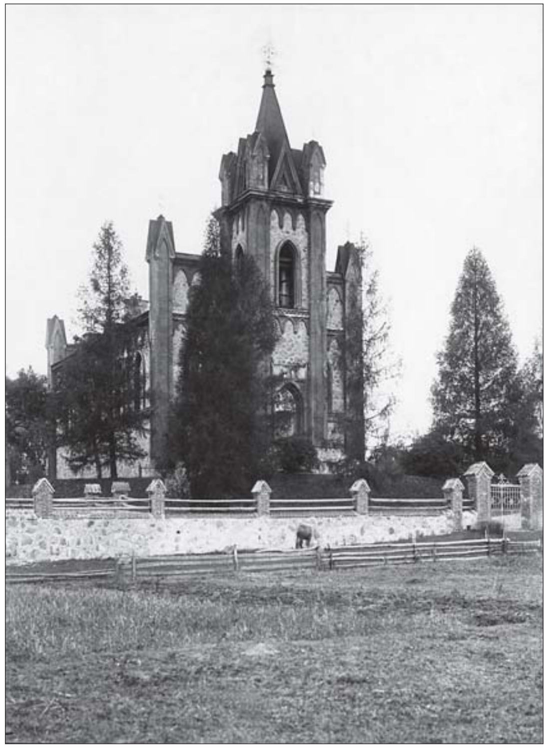


Fig. 36. *St Anne's RC Church (Dūkštos, Vil'na District) after conversion into an Orthodox church*

were taken was connected most likely with the conflict mentioned above between Kaufman and Valuev. Soon afterwards, as we have noted, the interior minister had Kaufman removed from office. The fate of Catholic churches and chapels was placed at the whim of local governors general by the quite vague formulations of the 4 April 1866 Decree.

Sometimes a request from converts to Orthodox served as a pretext for closing down Catholic churches, but this was not essential. Chapels in the NWP were closed down because the authorities could not find official documents confirming their existence.[109] Often a pretext for closure was offered by "anti-government" activities on the part of Catholic priests or when "revolutionary hymns were sung and rousing proclamations made."[110] Often it was indicated that these churches or chapels had a detrimental influence over the local Orthodox population, or in other words, they were attracting peasants to Catholicism.[111] Another very common pretext for closing down Catholic churches and converting them into Orthodox ones was the



Fig. 37. *Foundations of the Catholic chapel in Medininkai (Vil'na District), closed down on 7 October 1865, and later demolished*

fact that a large number of peasants had converted to Orthodoxy and the number of remaining Catholic parishioners was insignificant.[112] Thus, for example, the governor of Minsk proposed closing the Catholic church in Krivoshin (Novogrudok District, Minsk Gubernia) when there were still 1,140 Catholic parishioners left.[113] The Zabludovo church in the Białystok Deanery faced closure, despite the fact that it had 4,519 parishioners, because "this parish was forming little by little as Catholic priests converted Orthodox parishioners from the local Orthodox churches in Zabludovo and neighbouring parishes."[114] Along with these motives, which we come across frequently, it was indicated on occasion as a supplementary reason that Orthodox believers did not have a church in the vicinity and so a Catholic church should be turned into an Orthodox one.[115]

Despite the various pretexts offered, one of the most common motives for closing down Catholic churches and converting them into Orthodox ones was the hope that in this way the local population could be converted to Orthodoxy much more easily.[116]

The reconsecrations took place with the utmost triumph. Often not only local archbishops took part in these triumphant ceremonies but also so did the local authorities and governors. In certain cases the authorities attempted to make the changes in rite less visible and, at least the first sermons were preached in the "local dialect."[117]



Fig. 38. *Orthodox Church of St Nicholas (converted from St Casimir's RC Church, which was closed down in 1832). The Catholic church was handed over to the Orthodox in 1841 and was reconstructed to a design by Nikolai Chagin (1864–1868)*

However, there were cases where the local authorities were in no haste to convert Catholic churches into Orthodox ones. Sometimes obstacles to such matters arose in St Petersburg.[118] In 1865 the governor of Mogilev proposed not closing down the church in Krichev because it had been built by private individuals from their own purse and with the permission of the authorities.[119] In other cases in the 1860s local authorities were stopped from taking such a decision by the fact that after one church or another had been closed down, there would be a large number of Catholic parishioners and the distance to other churches would be quite large, or the church they intended to close was "old and unsuitable for conversion as an Orthodox church."[120]

The case of the church in Pruzhany (Grodno Gubernia) is very characteristic of the difference in the views the governors general of Vil'na had of this problem. The people of Pruzhany (the complaint penned by local Catholics said that non-Catholics also signed the petition[121]) appealed to the

authorities to turn their incomplete Catholic church into an Orthodox one, but Governor General Murav'ev of Vil'na ordered his gratitude to be expressed to them and explained that the authorities themselves could build an Orthodox church while the incomplete building, Murav'ev added, could be turned into a "people's school" or be used for something else. Despite the opposition of the local Catholic community, Kaufman ordered the unfinished Catholic church in Pruzhany to be turned into an Orthodox church.[122]

The zeal for closing and converting Catholic churches, for which Kaufman and Baranov were distinguished, did not please all proponents of the "Russian cause." While Potapov criticised leaving former Catholic churches unused, supporters of introducing the Russian language into supplementary Catholic services remarked that closing the churches down would lead to an increase in Polish influence:

> can the Russian cause win from forcing innocent Catholic peasants to walk for 20 or even 25 versts and more (as is positively likely) to attend Communion? Surely the person who does not go to Mass will still read Polish prayerbooks instead! Meanwhile this can only strengthen the influence of the gentry, which is no better than the influence of the priests.[123]

The process of mass conversions of Belarusian Catholics to Orthodoxy in the mid-1860s cherished the hope among the local bureaucracy that soon, within five years in total, they would all become Orthodox. As one gendarmerie officer wrote, "we may hope that without too much difficulty the whole peasant population in time will be united in faith and language with the Russian Nation."[124] Almost the same was thought by one of the officials close to Murav'ev: "if General Kaufman's system can last for five years, Latin religion would perish forever in the Western Province."[125]

Changes in Confessional Policy after 1868

After Potapov was appointed governor general of Vil'na the process of closing down Catholic churches slowed down noticeably: in 1868–1869 22 churches were closed down in the NWP (16 parish churches and 6 chapels of ease) along with 28 chapels, but at the same time the new governor general attempted to ensure that "the churches remaining after closure be converted slowly into Orthodox churches, if local conditions so require it and the necessary funds are available." Closed churches, for which no other use was found, according to Potapov, do not reflect honourably on the authorities

because they reveal the inability of officialdom to build Orthodox churches to replace them.[126] However, it may also be supposed that the governor general knew full well that the churches closed down by the authorities would remind the local Catholic community of attempts at persecution. Potapov tried to end Kaufman's practice, which, in his words, had involved all manner of measures.[127]

Historians claim that Potapov was convinced that coercive measures towards religion would only lead to mass opposition and that popular religious sentiment should be the affair of the Orthodox Church first and foremost, rather than the secular administration.[128] One Vilnius official claimed that Potapov had reported to St Petersburg back when Murav'ev was governor general concerning forced conversions.[129] Of course we may doubt some of the claims of local officials, depicting Potapov as being indifferent to Orthodoxy.[130] Such claims appear to be countered by a circular issued by Potapov on 17 September 1869, which in part fulfilled the request of the archbishop of Lithuania and Vilnius, instructing his subordinates

> to show the necessary attention and respect to the Orthodox clergy and cooperate in all their legitimate demands; <…> to explain to the people the full absurdity of rumours that apparently the government had turned in favour of the Latin religion; <…> to pay special attention and suggest to the police authorities that they prosecute more strictly Catholic priests who offer services to Orthodox parishioners in whatever form this might take.[131]

However, changes in confessional policy were real in comparison with what had gone before. An unambiguous departure from Kaufman's practice could also be seen in the new governor general's proposal to allow former Catholics, who had given a written undertaking to convert to the dominant faith but had still not submitted to Orthodox rites, to remain in their former faith.[132] The fact that almost immediately after his appointment Potapov retired the chief official responsible for converting Catholics to Orthodoxy, Storozhenko, who was the governor general's official in charge of special affairs, is quite symptomatic of the new approach.[133]

However, it was not only Potapov's appointment as governor general that brought the mass conversions to an end. There were other very weighty reasons which put the brakes on this process.

As soon as peasants, who had converted to Orthodoxy in the 1840s in the neighbouring Baltic Gubernias, began to return to Lutheranism in the 1860s, the editor of *Moskovskie vedomosti*, Katkov, turned his attention to

the policy followed in the NWP with regard to Belarusian Catholics.[134] A reverse movement began in the NWP too. Baranov even did not rule out the possibility that it would "become wide-scale."[135] This, as we have already noted, was forbidden by Russian Law. Therefore a large number of peasants went neither to the Orthodox churches nor the Catholic ones (this means, for example, that children were not baptised and so on). In the mid-nineteenth century such a state of affairs could not be considered normal. It is no accident that certain people at the time made a direct link between the authorities' policy of converting the peasants to Orthodoxy and the rise of "demagogic principles," "social teaching" and "nihilism."[136]

These former Catholics made appeals and sometimes even protested actively, when the authorities closed down churches and chapels. In such instances the authorities, as a rule, sought out the "inciters" and found them (even though sometimes they had no evidence). Often blame was placed not only on the peasants themselves but also on Catholic priests, women and members of church fraternities.[137]

It may be supposed that some of the most active instruments of anti-government policy were rumours. According to reports from various officials, rumours abounded to the effect that neither the tsar nor the governor general of Vil'na, Baranov, wished the peasants to convert to Orthodoxy and that "our tsar has 77 faiths," that those who had not been to confession in an Orthodox church could return to Catholicism and so on.[138]

As far as we can tell from various local official reports, local converts to Orthodoxy found themselves in a difficult position. Archbishop Makarii of Lithuania and Vilnius described the position facing neophytes in 1869 in quite gloomy terms:

> neophyte parishioners are unwilling to attend God's churches and do so in very small numbers <…> many refuse to welcome Orthodox priests into their homes and in general they avoid all circumstances where these pastors might approach them with exhortations; many have begun to avoid carrying out their Christian duty to go to Confession and take Holy Communion from their parish priests, and some have stopped taking their children for baptism to their Orthodox pastors and approach the Catholic clergy with requests to baptize their children and provide for their other spiritual needs.

Makarii complained in particular of the indifference of local officials to religious problems and even of their lack of respect for the Orthodox clergy.[139]

Unfriendliness on the part of the Catholic community sometimes placed the neophytes in a difficult material position.[140] According to a report from

the governor general, some converts who did not find work with Catholic employers, had to turn to Jews for help.[141] Bearing in mind the quite widespread image officials had of shameless Jewish exploitation of Christian peasants, such a turn in the lives of the people had very negative overtones. In the popular imagination serving Jews was regarded as demeaning.[142] Former priests also came up against similar problems: they felt the enmity of the Catholic community and sometimes, as officials reported, they even experienced physical violence and a reduction in their income and so forth.[143]

Therefore the local authorities had to consider not only how to convert new people in the NWP but also what to do with those who formally had already converted. Baranov drafted a whole programme of measures for converts to Orthodoxy. The governor general placed greatest hope in activating the work of the Orthodox clergy.[144] Another official proposed a method to resolve two issues at the same time – concern over those already converted and the conversion of the remaining Catholics. It was proposed to organise the relocation of peasants: "to settle all converts in whole villages near Orthodox churches, to grant them land belonging to members of the Catholic, Jewish and other faiths, after relocating the latter to the land of the former." Then "Orthodox believers would be preserved from the wrath of, and fanatical persecution by Catholics," and the remaining Catholics would be converted to Orthodoxy too because they would not wish to leave their property.[145] In Potapov's day the Society of Orthodox Zealots and Benefactors in the North Western Province was established and one of its aims was "to provide aid to persons, who had lost the support of their communities and families after conversion to Orthodoxy."[146]

The further successful expansion of Orthodoxy was hindered by financial considerations. Beginning in 1865 the government, for example, obliged itself to spend 100,000 rubles annually from the purse of the Interior Ministry to build Orthodox churches in the Vil'na and Grodno Gubernias, but even in 1866 only 76,000 rubles were spent.[147] Local funds intended for this policy also were reduced. The 10,000 rubles which were allocated annually to convert Catholic churches into Orthodox ones were also insufficient.[148] Thus, for example, on Kaufman's instructions, the Catholic church belonging to the grammar school in Grodno was supposed to be turned into an Orthodox place of worship, but the necessary finances could not be found and in 1872 an instruction came to demolish the church and this was put into effect the next year.[149] This slow down in converting Catholic churches to Orthodox ones, according to claims from local officials themselves, "had a harmful effect on neophytes."[150]

Yet another factor, which could have hindered mass conversions to Orthodoxy, was connected with the reluctance of the authorities and the Russian public to accept the "return" of former Catholics to Orthodoxy. This problem practically did not arise where the peasants were concerned, as we have noted. The situation with the gentry was more complex. As one Catholic, who was loyal to the authorities, wrote, "well, in the end, even if we did adopt Orthodoxy, would they trust us then?"[151] Certain facts indicate that the threshold of "rejected assimilation" could be quite high. There is some evidence of the treatment of the convert priest, Fr Kozlowski, by the local Vilnius officials. As Kornilov claimed himself, he "had lost faith in Poles" and suspected each one of them of "spying, Jesuitism and ulterior motives," but he made an exception for Kozlowski and trusted him.[152] There were opposing views too. According to one piece of evidence, the aide of the artillery chief of the Vil'na Military District, who was better known for his tendentious historical writings, General Vasilii Ratch, who was seconded by Kaufman, suspected that Kozlowski "had adopted Orthodoxy only for show and that in fact he was a Jesuit agent."[153] If local authorities really did regard the former priest in this way, we can believe other information from Sergei Raikovskii, who claimed that "Kozlowski was already repenting having converted to Orthodoxy."[154] It is not hard to imagine, that the situation with Kozlovski could not have encouraged other priests to follow his example.

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In general we can note that in the mid-1860s, especially when Kaufman and Baranov were governor general, local officials and some of the Orthodox clergy strove to convert all Belarusian Catholics to Orthodoxy. The very process of "return" was understood by local bureaucrats not so much as a step taken by an individual acknowledging the supremacy of Orthodoxy over Catholicism, as an expression of the completely secular (national and material) sentiments of peasants. The confessionalisation of the Catholic (or former Catholic) population was in effect of no interest to local officials, that is, civil servants regarded the religious aspect of the conversions with equanimity. In addition the authorities used not only carrots but also sticks in their policy.

At the same time Lithuanians and the Polish-speaking gentry, as well as Catholic townsfolk, were not the objects of mass conversions. In the case of the gentry, there were even cases, where the authorities treated converts to Orthodoxy with suspicion, that is, here we can see quite a high threshold of "rejected assimilation."

When Potapov, who did not favour the use of coercion to resolve religious problems, was appointed governor general, the mass conversion of local Catholics to Orthodoxy almost came to a halt. However, not only the appointment of the new governor general halted this process. By persecuting the Catholic Church and especially by forcing conversions, the authorities aroused anti-government sentiment and this always gave rise to serious threats of danger in the borderlands. The authorities were made anxious too by popular religious indifference, which could spread strongly as a result of such policy, and this posed the threat of the spread of new social teachings. Opposition from the peasantry and the Catholic clergy also played a role in halting the mass conversions to Orthodoxy. Financial difficulties were not the least influential factors in this situation.[155]

Can a Catholic be a Russian? The Problem of Introducing the Russian Language into Supplementary Roman Catholic Services

The possibilities that have developed over the past fifteen years for studying religious problems within the Russian Empire have drawn the attention of historians to the problem of "depolonising the Catholic Church," as imperial civil servants referred to it at the time, or, in other words, the introduction of the Russian language into supplementary Catholic services.[156] Discussions often centred indirectly on several issues.[157] The main problem interesting historians deals with the issue of the aims of the initiators of this new policy and how the ideas of supporters and opponents of the introduction of Russian into supplementary Catholic services and other "foreign confessions" expressed their concept of Russianness or Polonicity, and how far these concepts were modern and how far they were traditional. According to Weeks, the attempts to introduce Russian into Catholic services reveal "a modern ethnic and linguistic definition of nationality." He also added that "attempts to explain these measures as attempts to convert Catholics to Orthodoxy cannot be justified by the available sources."[158] Merkys argues to the contrary that there were only tactical disagreements between those supporting and opposing the introduction of Russian into Catholic services, and that both groups sought to convert Catholics to Orthodoxy.[159] Dolbilov supports the view that it is difficult to speak of two clearly defined concepts of Russianness because we can detect modern and pre-modern, religious and secular concepts among both the supporters and the opponents of this experiment.[160] Another question to which historians provide different answers is connected with when this measure came under discussion first, or in other words, who took the initiative in the matter. Merkys, for example, attributes a very important

role at that time (the beginning of 1866) to a supernumerary teacher, Aleksei Vladimirov, who reported the ideas of the editor of *Moskovskie vedomosti*, Katkov, to the then governor general, Kaufman.[161] According to another version, this matter cannot be separated from the teaching of Catholic religion in Russian in schools of the VED.[162] The latest study on this issue, as far we are aware, is Komzolova's book but this says nothing new and does not even touch upon certain major aspects such as, for example, the discussion of this issue in the NWP itself.[163]

The aim of this section is to explain the motivations which led Russian civil servants and the intellectual-, and political elites in general to introduce Russian into the services of "foreign confessions," primarily Catholic worship, and also, on the other hand, what provoked opposition to these measures. We will also attempt to follow the history of the bureaucratic discussions of this issue in both the NWP and St Petersburg.

Religion and Language in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century

As we know, in 1848 Nicholas I forbade the use of Russian in the services of "foreign confessions" ("to be forbidden in Russian; sermons may be preached in all foreign languages").[164] It is not hard to guess that in this case the imperial authorities feared proselytism on the part of "foreign churches." The Orthodox Church, like certain officials, was afraid lest by allowing use of the Russian language the teaching of these "foreign confessions" would be accessible to Russians too, who might thereby be converted to other faiths.[165] The domination of the Polish language in Catholicism did not arouse great anxiety on the part of the authorities at that time. However, even before the 1863–1864 Uprising some alarm was caused by the link between the Polish language and Catholicism.

The fact is that even before the Emancipation of the Serfs (1861) the imperial authorities were beginning to worry about what today we would call the ethno-cultural orientation of non-dominant national groups, primarily the Lithuanians, which were influenced by the Poles. As early as 1832 Nicholas I ordered the prayer for the Ruling House to be translated into Lithuanian. After the Uprising of 1830–1831 the Western Committee also discussed an anonymous tract, which said that "Russian Catholics may also read the prayer in Russian and hear sermons preached in the Russian language." In the opinion of the tract's author this measure would abolish their "Polish provincialism."[166] In 1852 the authorities had to return once more to this problem. Everything began with a proposal from Governor General Bibikov of Vil'na that the "Žemaitijan language" not be used in Catholic

services.[167] However, the central authorities chose to take another path. Bearing in mind in addition to all this that "the spread of the Polish language and with it the Polish spirit among the people of Žemaitija has caused a state of constant nostalgia for the former Polish Commonwealth," they ordered "the Latin clergy to say the prayer for the well-being of the Most August House not in Polish exclusively but on each occasion in the language of their parishioners."[168]

Another group of Catholics, who needed to be "defended" against the influence of Polish ideas and the Polish language, comprised pupils in military schools. Catholic religious teaching in these schools was conducted in Polish until the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1853 with the approval of the authorities and the Catholic archbishop, Ignacy Hołowiński, Dominik Stacewicz compiled an extended catechism in Russian which came to be used in military schools.[169] In this case, most probably not only the motives of the political aims were important (such as the separation of non-Poles from the influence of Polish ideas) but so also were the practical considerations. It may be that Russian officials were not bending the truth when they wrote that many of these pupils simply did not know Polish when they entered the military schools and were being forced to learn it only in order to understand religious instruction. On the other hand, we must note that according to the tsar's decree the translation of this catechism could only be lithographed but not printed. This shows that the imperial authorities, as before, were afraid of spreading Catholic ideas in the Russian language.

Which Language to Use to Teach Catholic Catechetics to Belarusians?

A new situation arose in the Western Province in connection with the Emancipation of the Serfs and also the 1863–1864 Uprising. As has been noted already, reforming the peasantry presented the authorities with the issue of the future ethno-cultural and political development of this large social class. This question was made even more acute by the "Polish Rebellion." On the one hand, it showed how Poles were unswerving in their strivings for independence (and this meant a balance had to be found to counter them), while on the other hand, it was no secret that especially from the beginning of the 1860s local gentry began to set up schools in which, to use the term of the authorities, Russian peasants were taught Polish and this presented them with the threat of becoming Polonised. For this reason the future ethno-cultural and even political development of Russian peasants could not but worry central and local authorities alike.

In this regard Russian civil servants were faced immediately by the problem of determining the Russianness of these peasants. Even former Uniate Christians, who had converted to Orthodoxy were a problem. Were they Russian? Local officials considered that they were indifferent to their religion. Then there were the Catholics. When "protecting" these peasants from Polish influence, the authorities were compelled to determine in what language they should be given Catholic religious instruction in the so-called "people's schools," which were being founded from the early 1860s. At least some officials thought that retaining the Polish language for the teaching of religious instruction, as had been the case thitherto, would mean consenting to the Polonisation of Russian peasants.[170]

After Murav'ev was appointed governor general of Vil'na in May 1863 the "advance" of Russian into schools continued. In a circular of 1 January 1864 the governor general forbade the use of the "Polish catechisms" for the religious instruction of Orthodox peasants in "people's schools."[171] While the circular only applied this ban to Orthodox pupils, it follows that in the future Catholics would have to study religion according to the old catechisms, which were in Polish for Belarusians. At the same time teaching of this subject was permitted in "Žemaitijan" for the "Lithuano-Žemaitijan populace" (as in general the teaching of this language was a separate subject).[172]

From 1864–1865, according to Murav'ev's 26 June decree, teaching of religious instruction in Russian was introduced into grammar schools and junior grammar schools. Soon this measure was extended to district gentry schools.[173] The most interesting thing is that in Murav'ev's day introducing Russian into the teaching of Catholic religious instruction in "people's schools" somehow did not happen.

We can explain this situation by how Murav'ev regarded the religiosity of Belarusians, including Orthodox Belarusians. According to the governor general, the religiosity of Belarusians was influenced very much by the fact that for a long time they had been under the influence of Polish landowners and Catholic priests:

> given the significant influence of the Roman Catholic clergy and landowners, who are almost exclusively Poles, these people, who mostly profess Orthodoxy, profess it only nominally, having adopted practices from the Roman Catholic Church into their ordinary lives.[174]

Similar thoughts can be found not only in bureaucratic correspondence but also in the press.[175] Given such an evaluation of the Belarusian population's religious consciousness, the governor general of Vil'na "was afraid of giving

Catholic priests the Russian language," while on the other hand, according to Novikov, he thought that "the Polish language was alien to ordinary folk and the Polish-language Latin-rite catechism had not become deep-rooted."[176] The latter quotation leads us to think that Murav'ev may have been hoping for Belarusian Catholics to "return" to Orthodoxy, when he thought that both Orthodox and Catholic Belarusians lacked strong religious convictions. In the words of Novikov, the governor general "did not believe in the might of Catholic fanaticism, as fanaticism, and did not pay too much account to the fact that Catholic priests preached the Polish language as a holy language for religion."[177] However, on the other hand, Murav'ev's regard for religion shows that radical confessional engineering measures were alien to the governor general.

The introduction of Russian into Catholic religious instruction was made only under Murav'ev's successor, Kaufman, even though the "initiative from below" came back when Murav'ev was the "province's chief official." The director of schools in the Mogilev Gubernia, Glushitskii, took the initiative to issue an instruction that from the beginning of 1865 this subject should be taught not in Polish but in Russian to Catholic pupils not only in five-form gentry schools, but also in three-form district schools and parish schools under his jurisdiction.[178] The VED overseer, Kornilov, supported this initiative warmly and convinced the new governor general, Kaufman, to extend this measure to the whole of the NWP from the beginning of the 1865–1866 academic year.[179] In addition Kornilov was worried by the "false" understanding of Russianness being cherished at the time by the local population:

> every Roman Catholic in the Western Province is a Pole and hence it follows that the Roman Catholic religion here serves to Polonise the population and determine nationality. I suggest that it would be very important to destroy the said opinion and plant in the popular consciousness the thought that Russian people who belong to the Roman rite and live in certain parts of the Western Province, are just as Russian as those Russians, who profess the Orthodox Faith.[180]

As a temporary measure an exception was made for "Žemaitija," where "the people had not adopted this language [Russian] everywhere as yet," and hence there "the catechism could be taught in people's schools in Žemaitijan with the permission of the school's management."[181] Kaufman maintained the view that religious instruction could be given in Lithuanian only for first year pupils.[182]

However, the authorities had to deal with two tasks which at first sight seem to be mutually exclusive: to "protect" peasants from Polonisation while at the same time not allowing the spread of Catholic ideas in Russian in an Orthodox milieu. Therefore, at first an instruction was given only to lithograph rather than print the extensive Stacewicz catechism as well as The Short Roman Catholic Catechism and The Short Roman Catholic Sacred History in Russian. Furthermore, at the behest of the overseer, the catechism was handed out to pupils "on assignment for temporary use" so that it would not spread beyond the confines of the school.[183] However, on 8 October 1865 permission came from the tsar for the extensive RC catechism to be printed in Russian and on 16 December 1866 permission was given to print the shorter catechism.[184] However, in the future the authorities would be afraid of the spread of Catholic ideas among the Orthodox in the Western Province. When preparing the third edition of the shorter catechism an instruction came from St Petersburg to the effect that it was possible "to issue the third edition of the catechism with a footer on every page of this handbook bearing the title 'the Short Roman Catholic Catechism' as well as the title on the front page."[185]

Thus the Russian language came to be used in Roman Catholic religious instruction. At the same time the local authorities did not take another, seemingly logical step in the same direction, namely to replace Polish with Russian in Roman Catholic supplementary services.

Proponents of "Russian Catholicism" and their Programme

Back at the beginning of 1863 the VED overseer, Aleksandr Shirinskii-Shikhmatov, proposed "requiring Roman Catholic priests to use Russian rather than Polish in their churches and everyday relations with Belarusians."[186] Adjutant General Nikolai Kryzhanovskii linked these two areas (religious instruction for Catholics and supplementary Catholic services) directly:

> the Polish language should be completely alien to ordinary people in the western gubernias. Apart from in Žemaitija everyone speaks and understands Russian and so we should strive to see that Catholic priests in the said province preach their sermons in the people's language rather than Polish, which means in Žemaitijan in Žemaitija and in Russian in all the other gubernias. They should teach religion in those national languages in schools, grammar schools and even in private homes.[187]



Fig. 39. *Nikolai Derevitskii*

Therefore we would be so bold as to state that an important impulse to discussing the issue of the utility of introducing Russian into Catholic supplementary services was the introduction of Catholic religious instruction in schools in this language.

The matter of why the authorities did not resolve on the introduction of Russian in Catholic churches immediately after the changes made in schools demands more detailed discussion. In schools it was easy to check on whether pupils attended instruction in their own religion, but it was much more difficult to ensure that Orthodox peasants did not attend Catholic churches. Moreover, at that time the 1848 Decree was in force and this did not allow for the use of Russian in the services of "foreign confessions." Therefore it required several years of intensive discussion until the authorities determined what should be the language of Catholic church supplementary services in the Western Province.

Various forces let the authorities to discuss this issue. Probably the most influential of these was the editor of *Moskovskie Vedomosti*, Katkov, who



Fig. 40. *Vladimir Samarin*

corresponded with Governor General Kaufman of Vil'na on this issue in the autumn of 1865.[188] At that time the vicar general of the RC archbishopric of Mogilev, Bishop Józef Maksymilian Staniewski, informed the authorities of the petition of the Catholic clergy of the Vitebsk and Mogilev Gubernias for permission to preach in Belarusian.[189] At the beginning of 1866 the aforementioned Vladimirov took the initiative.[190]

All these circumstances, most probably, drove the local authorities to discuss the issue of replacing Polish in supplementary Catholic services in the Inspection Commission, which had been established, as we have already noted, at the beginning of 1866 by Governor General Kaufman.[191] Kaufman appointed officials from his own department to the commission. Storozhenko was appointed chairman of the Commission and its members were Nikotin (who was in charge of the governor general's office), Nikolai Derevitskii and Aleksandr Laptev (who were at the governor's disposition) as well as Vladimir Samarin (brother of the well-known Slavophile, Iu. Samarin), who was a special affairs official.[192]

There is no doubt that the ideological basis for "separating Catholicism from the Polish Nationality" was founded by Katkov, who spoke out first and foremost for the political integrity of the Russian Empire. It must be said at the outset that Katkov understood that such a "separation" would take place sometime in the future. At the time *Moskovskie vedomosti* recognised that "now in the Western Province Catholicism was a sign of Polish

nationality."[193] The editor thought that it was necessary to strive for a situation where all subjects of the state were integrated into a single "political nationality." The use of this term in Katkov's ideology was political and multi-confessional: even "Russian subjects professing the Catholic Faith" should regard themselves as "fully Russian persons."[194] Therefore it is no surprise that certain civil servants, who supported such a view of Russianness, regarded the categorisation of Catholicism or Lutheranism as "foreign confessions" as being "absurd."[195] Thus all subjects of the Russian Empire were supposed to be united by loyalty to the state and the unifying factor for this was to be the Russian language: "the most durable of all conquests is the conquest of a nation by a language."[196] In this regard he was seconded by Vladimirov: "language is the strongest transmittor of nationality."[197] Therefore Katkov supported the idea of introducing Russian into Catholic services.[198] Arguments the same as, or similar to those held by Katkov can be found in the utterances of certain members of the Inspection Commission.[199] Proponents of this move thought that forcing Polish out of the public arena required its being forced out of the churches too, especially since the language used in church would become "holy."

By replacing Orthodoxy with the Russian language as the main integrating basis of Russianness, Katkov had Belarusians in mind first and foremost. The traditional identification of Orthodoxy and Russianness left Catholic Belarusians beyond the boundary of Russianness and, in the opinion of many Russian civil servants and influential publicists this made them an easy catch for Polonisers.[200] From a pragmatic point of view, it was possible to replace Polish in church services with Belarusian, as the vicar general of the RC archdiocese of Mogilev, Bishop Staniewski, had proposed, but in the mid-1860s the prospects for granting Belarusian any kind of official status were even fewer than had been the case at the beginning of the decade.[201]

Although Katkov, the main ideologist of "separating Catholicism from the Polish Nationality," did not believe in the possibility or even the necessity of "returning" the Catholic population of the western gubernias to Orthodoxy, this move meant for certain other adepts of the introduction of Russian into Catholic services the first step in the conversion of the Catholic population to Orthodoxy.[202] They criticised those, who took part in the mass conversion process to Orthodoxy in the mid-1860s, asserting that it would not provide lasting results: while some parishioners joined Orthodoxy, others wished to return to Catholicism.[203] Some of the members of the Inspection Commission simply proposed taking the same route as the Poles had taken when they Polonised the area. According to Storozhenko, the Poles had first spread the Polish language and only later introduced Catholicism: "we dare say that it

was not Catholicism that facilitated Polonisation but *vice versa*; the Latin religion followed on from Polonisation."[204] Vladimirov even explained how he foresaw the conversion to Orthodoxy. In so far as the people placed greater significance on the outward appearances of divine service, the innovation (the use of Russian in supplementary services) "would produce a religious shake-up and a wavering of minds" among the whole Catholic population of the province and "the agents of Orthodoxy should use this moment because then the return of the province's whole Catholic population, or at least a significant part of it, to the breast of Orthodoxy would be easier than ever."[205]

However, not all local Russifiers considered that simply the introduction of Russian could lead to a mass Catholic conversion to Orthodoxy. Some foresaw that more refined methods of confessional engineering were required to ensure successful "returns" to Orthodoxy. Even two tracts on this matter were presented by the publisher of the local journal, *Vestnik Zapadnoi Rossii*, Govorskii. In the first of these he concentrated his attention on the introduction of Russian into the churches. This measure, according to Govorskii, would help the spread of Orthodoxy, but he proposed introducing Russian into only that part of religious literature, used in supplementary services, which does not "turn the people into fanatics," rather than all of it; he also proposed forbidding singing during processions, and spreading ideas about papal supremacy and so on. In other words he was proposing to wash away the differences between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches gradually.[206] In a second tract sent to the Inspection Commission on 28 July 1866, the publisher of *Vestnik Zapadnoi Rossii* presented a more detailed programme for confessional engineering.[207] In so far as this tract reveals well the place that using Russian in supplementary services was to have in the conversion of Catholics to Orthodoxy, according to some supporters of "depolonising the Catholic Church," we will take a closer look at it.

Govorskii asserted that introducing Russian into Catholic churches was essential in order to reduce the attraction of Catholic worship. Catholic priests would need much time in order to learn Russian and this meant, the publisher of *Vestnik Zapadnoi Rossii* considered, their sermons would be less attractive to the people. Until the Catholic priests learned Russian "much water would flow under the bridge" and "Catholicism in West Russia would hardly wait for this to happen." Other measures would be needed for the "final destruction" of the Roman Church in Western Russia. The point of departure for Govorskii's discussions was the fact that the Catholic Church attracted more simple folk than Orthodoxy did. Therefore, it was necessary to see to it that the status of the former would drop and that of the latter would rise in the eyes of the people. The main role in this Govorskii attributed to the

Orthodox clergy, whom the local authorities, the gendarmerie included, had to help. Govorskii proposed a programme of gradual changes directed at removing the differences between the Churches. He laid special stress on the need to be gradual in these changes.

> Thus, for example, when introducing new Orthodox icons and banners, the previous pictures and standards should not be removed from the churches; there is no need to remove the pews from which the congregation used to listen to sermons; there is no need to replace Catholic bells with Orthodox peals <...> the remnants of Catholicism in Catholic churches must be eradicated slowly, so the people do not notice, so to say, <...> in order not to worry the souls and consciences of the neophytes.

This aim was supposed to be served by the practice of having Orthodox priests celebrate Catholic rites and *vice versa*. Generally the publisher of *Vestnik Zapadnoi Rossii* indicated the cupidity of Catholic priests and their "Russian blood" and hoped that they could be turned into supporters of Orthodoxy, as in practice, as we have already noted, certain civil servants like Storozhenko attempted to bring into effect.

In order for Orthodoxy to become more attractive to the people, Govorskii proposed that first of all the clergy should change their ways: diocesan prelates should behave respectfully towards their priests, and sermons should be delivered more often in Orthodox churches and so on. Also it would be necessary to build choir stalls in churches to be a counterbalance to Catholic organs, which, in the opinion of local civil servants, immediately attracted Orthodox believers to Catholic churches; they should return Orthodox icons to Orthodox churches when they had been removed by Catholics, including the icon of Our Lady of the Gates of Dawn in Vilnius. The attractiveness of Orthodoxy was to be enhanced by preferential measures in various spheres; for example, preference was to be given to Orthodox, especially neophytes, in various appointments.

In order to decrease the attraction of Catholicism certain measures supposed to be introduced: the closure of Catholic churches "which lack the required number of parishioners;" the closure of churches near the border with the Kingdom of Poland because those churches were the focus of streams of Poles from across the border who make the local inhabitants "frightful fanatics with regard to politics and religion;" to reduce the number of Catholic seminaries to two (in Vilnius and Zhitomir); to close down some monasteries; to reduce the income of priests and so forth. In order for all this

to appear "legal" Govorskii proposed "to declare it [Catholicism] not to be subject to laws of tolerance."

Now let us return to the work of the Inspection Commission. When it began to function in the first half of the 1860s the view that it was expedite to drive out the Polish language from supplementary services in Catholic churches was prevalent and on 7 March 1866 the Commission decided that "the Polish language has been rejected officially in the NWP and it should be driven out too from Roman Catholic services and also from prayerbooks and sermons." The Commission also proposed forbidding the sale, printing and importation of Polish prayerbooks and translating not only prayerbooks but also sermons into Russian. The only thing remaining unresolved was the matter of which language to permit in churches for readings, and singing of prayers which did not form the main part of the service.[208] Soon after this serious changes took place in the Inspection Commission.

"Vilnius Clericals" and the "Depolonisation of the Church"

In May 1866 the Commission gained new members, "representing" the Orthodox Church and the VED: Archpriest Viktor Gomolitskii, Major General Ratch, District VED Inspector Kulin, the director of the boys' grammar school in Vilnius, Bessonov, the senior master of the girls' grammar school, Pavel Roshchin, and Govorskii, the publisher of *Vestnik Zapadnoi Rossii*. With the appointment of these new members the opposition party on the Commission was strengthened. This spoke out against the introduction of Russian into supplementary Catholic services. Soon they received yet another serious ally, Professor Koialovich, who spent the summer of 1866 in Vilnius.[209]

Some of the opponents of the introduction of Russian into supplementary services were supporters of an ethno-confessional concept of Russianness. For Aksakov, Overseer Kornilov, Metropolitan Iosif of Lithuania and Vilnius, and certain members of the Inspection Commission, the main trait differentiating Russians from others was Orthodoxy. As Aksakov wrote, "in our western gubernias <...> the profession of faith is the single and almost unmistakable qualitative sign of what nationality a person ascribes to."[210] Koialovich asserted that "another hundred years will pass before it will be possible to contemplate separating nationality from faith in Western Russia."[211] For peasants in particular religion was regarded as being the most important marker of national identity. As Ratch asserted, "Faith and language are the foundation posts of nationality." He stressed that replacing Polish with Russian could not bring about the desired results:

> The Polish language affects the upper classes, which speak Polish, but we will not drive it out of society after driving it out of the Church, and the Church has an effect on ordinary Catholic folk, who speak Belarusian, and the Polish language does not arouse anything patriotic or religious in them. For them the Polish matter is a church affair.[212]

However, the point lay not only with various concepts of Russianness. One of the main anxieties of the "Vilnius clericals" was the fear that the introduction of Russian would stop the mass conversion of Catholics to Orthodoxy.[213] These conversions reached a peak, as we have already noted, in 1866. The fact is that, according to local bureaucrats, people were attracted to Catholic churches by the outward appearances of divine service, organ music and such like. The introduction of Russian into supplementary services would mean that Catholic churches would begin to attract people, who would hear their "national" language there. Therefore, it was necessary to support the "return" of Catholics in the Western Province to Orthodoxy rather than introduce Russian into Catholic worship.

Another fear, which was expressed often by VED officials or the Orthodox clergy, but not only them, of course, was connected with the fear for Orthodox believers, who were not confirmed in their religious convictions, according to local civil servants, and would come up against a Catholic clergy preaching to them in their own language. This fear affected not only the NWP but also the whole empire.[214] Such fears can be found in Kaufman's deliberations. In autumn 1865 he bragged to Katkov that "one of my instructions to preach in Russian would suffice to drive Polish out of Catholic churches swiftly and once and for all," but the governor general was afraid that the Catholic clergy would take advantage of this possibility to campaign for Orthodox converts. Therefore Kaufman proposed at the beginning to discuss this "ticklish" issue in detail and only then take a decision.[215] Bearing in mind Kaufman's position, we may suppose that the appointment of the new members to the Inspection Commission in May 1866 was a deliberate step on the part of the governor general to strengthen the position of opponents of "depolonising the Church." According to evidence from VED Overseer Kornilov, in July 1866 Kaufman was still viewing this measure "without confidence."[216] However we cannot take this evidence of Kornilov without a pinch of salt because the overseer himself was campaigning against the use of Russian in supplementary services:

> the Russian masses in this province have scarcely been freed from the Union [of Brest] and are still so ignorant, so poorly confirmed in

> Orthodoxy, that it is dangerous to subject them to the direct influence of Catholicism, which of course will have an effect under hand or clearly, where possible, with the Polish landowners, gentry, towns and small towns.[217]

According to other evidence, by September 1866 Kaufman was already inclined to favour the measure. It was then that the well-known activist, Stepan Dzhunkovskii attempted to convince the governor general that the opposite view was correct.[218]

The opponents of "Russian Catholicism" proposed a measure to resolve two matters: to separate Catholicism and the Polish idea, while at the same time protecting Orthodox believers from Catholic proselytism. Such a measure was intended to replace Polish with Latin, which was used in the liturgy as it was. Then no associations would arise between Catholicism and Russianness and, what is probably even more important, this would lead to the collapse of the Catholic Church in the Western Province. V. Samarin also came out in favour of this proposition.[219] Another member of the Inspection Commission, Bessonov explained directly why V. Samarin was proposing the introduction of Latin: "Samarin is proposing using Latin for hymns as a means for getting rid of them altogether," and further on: "in other words this means that as a result there will be neither sermons nor singing; use of Latin for sermons and singing will be a transitionary measure."[220] Such an idea was supported by Bessonov too. We will look at his views in grater detail. First of all, in a certain sense he was talking about the quite widespread fears for the future of Orthodoxy, if Russian came to be used in the Catholic Church; and secondly he pointed to certain problems, which proponents of "Russian Catholicism" had passed over in silence.[221]

At the beginning of his tract Bessonov apparently admits that if they forbade the use of Polish in all social spheres, it would be logical to take such a measure regarding the Catholic Church too. But replacing Polish with Russian in Catholic churches, according to the director of the Vilnius Boys' Grammar School, was linked with certain larger problems. First of all, a good deal of time would be required for translating sermons and prayers because there were no experts trained for such work, and Russian lacked words for many concepts used in Catholicism.[222] Secondly, and most importantly, by introducing Russian or "nationalising Latin papalism" the authorities could harm the Orthodox Church.[223] A Catholic prayerbook in

Russian might seem more attractive to peasants than any Orthodox book. Bessonov exaggerated the problem, pointing to the danger that would arise from the translation of Catholic sermons and prayers into Russian not only for Orthodox peasants in the Western Province but also for Russian culture as a whole: "this will be the translation and introduction of significant parts of Polish literature into Russian literature and the transformation of the latter in the image of Polish literature."[224] Thirdly, the official prohibition of the use of Polish in Catholic churches was not enough to ensure this measure came into effect (this literature could be written out by hand and learned by heart and so forth). Therefore, in his opinion, it was necessary to replace Polish in sermons and prayers with Latin and not to translate Catholic texts under any circumstance into Russian, let alone Belarusian.[225]

It is not surprising that the Orthodox clergy was more afraid than anyone else of Catholic proselytism. Although the Synod came out in favour of translating the sermons of Marcin Białobrzecki and Andrzej Filipecki into Russian, the Orthodox Church at first opposed their publication. The motives behind this were the same as before. In the Synod's opinion such books would have as their consequence their spreading not only in the Western Province but throughout the empire and especially among the ordinary people, who preferred religious books to secular ones, and this would serve to aid Latin propaganda and harm the Orthodox Church.[226]

Thus, under Governor General Kaufman two groups of local Russifiers formed with different views of the problem of how to deal with Catholic Church. Kaufman's successor, Baranov, came out in favour of the opponents of introducing Russian into Catholic supplementary services. In principle he did not deny the utility of removing Polish from all possible spheres of public life, but at the same time he asserted that the spread of this language was linked not only, or not so much with its use in church as with its expansion elsewhere, including in familylife. In addition such an innovation could turn the people against the authorities. However, the main problem, according to Baranov, was connected with the danger to the Orthodox Church not only in the Western Province but also throughout the empire. The governor general asked what the government would do, if it wanted to grant protection to the propagation of Catholicism in Russia. He had his answer ready: "Of course, it would translate all the teachings of this Church into Russian to make propaganda accessible to each and every person."[227] In order to strengthen his position the governor general also

sent tracts from four members of the Inspection Commission, who were opponents of this measure, to Over-Procurator Tolstoi of the Holy Synod. These four tracts were published in a small print run (of 28 copies in total) by the Synod Press.[228]

The 1869 Decree on Russian in the Services of "Foreign Confessions"

A new impetus was dealt to the matter of "depolonising the Catholic Church" when Potapov was appointed governor general of Vil'na on 2 March 1868, in so far as the new "chief official of the province" supported this idea. During 1869 he approached the interior minister on more than one occasion in connection with various issues arising from this problem.[229] For example, on 6 June 1869 he reported to Interior Minister Timashev that it was necessary to introduce the Russian language into Catholic services "as a matter of Russifying the province;" such a measure was supposed to "raise the significance of the language in the eyes of the people and strengthen the connections between the people of this province and the rest of Russia." In the localities, where Lithuanians and Latvians lived, Potapov proposed leaving the supplementary services in the local languages, with Russian being introduced when the people themselves desired it.

From 1868 this matter came to be discussed more and more frequently in St Petersburg bureaucratic circles. At the beginning of 1868 an instruction was issued for Russian to be used instead of Polish when meeting the spiritual demands of Roman Catholic soldiers.[230] The missal was translated into Russian.[231] By the summer of 1868 the Synod was also beginning to view this matter more favourably. When permitting these texts to be published the Synod asked only for "the strictest censorship."[232]

After continuous correspondence and even the collection of information from abroad, the interior minister ordered the prayers for His Majesty the Tsar and the Most August Family to be said in Russian in the summer of 1869.[233] The authorities may have been drawn to such a resolution to some degree by certain Catholic priests, who began saying these prayers in Russian without waiting for a decision from St Petersburg.[234] An exception was made only for the Lithuanian and Latvian population. In those areas it was decided to say the prayers in the languages of the *inorodtsy*, but there was also provision for the possibility that they be said in Russian, if the *inorodtsy* knew enough Russian and asked for this themselves.[235]

By the end of 1869 this issue was on the agenda in St Petersburg. The tsar formed a Special Committee On the Use of Russian in the Religious Affairs of "Foreign Confessions." To this committee Alexander II appointed



Fig. 41. *Pavel Gagarin (1789–1872)*

Gagarin as chairman along with the following members: Timashev, Shuvalov (the head of the Third Department and the Gendarmerie Corps), Tolstoi (over-procurator of the Holy Synod and minister of education), Sergei Urusov (head of the tsar's Second Chancery), Potapov, Governor General Dondukov-Korsakov of Kiev, and the director of DDDII, Emmanuil Sivers.

In his report to the committee Timashev admitted that "over the past decade the ministry's view had changed completely in this regard ." Timashev not only mentioned other measures intended to "separate the Catholic religious element from the Polish national element," for example, the attempts to replace Polish clergy with persons of other nationalities, and the introduction of Catholic religious instruction in Russian in educational institutions, but he also pointed to the striving of certain Catholic priests to meet the same ends. In addition Timashev indicated problems, which the Committee would have to resolve, namely introducing compulsory use of Russian or just allowing it to be used; should Russian be introduced or another Slavonic language; would it be necessary to repeal the Decree of 1848?[236]

This Committee decided that the former practice, whereby "becoming Russian means changing your faith," was obsolete and that it would be desirable for "the population in that area to be made conscious of the fact that it was possible to be a Catholic and a Russian." The Committee spoke



Fig. 42. *Ferdinand Senchikovskii (1837–1907), 1873*



Fig. 43. *Piotr Żyliński (1816–1887)*

out in favour of repealing the 1848 Decree with regard to all "foreign confessions," not just Catholicism, while also proposing not to make the use of Russian compulsory.[237] Alexander II gave instructions to "carry out" this proposal on 25 December 1869.

Thus the resolution of the Special Committee was recommendatory. This was stressed in a circular from Governor General Potapov: those inhabitants of the NWP, who "consider their native tongue to be Russian" were permitted to have sermons and supplementary religious services in Russian, but the use of Russian was not compulsory.[238]

Bearing in mind the above-mentioned resolution from the Special Committee that was confirmed by the tsar, may we assert that the supporters of "depolonising the Catholic Church" had won a victory over their opponents? At first glance, we must give an affirmative answer to this question. After all, the 1848 Decree had been abolished and Russian was allowed to be used in the worship of all "foreign confessions." However, they were dissatisfied by the fact that the central authorities had rejected making this compulsory.[239] Without having trustworthy evidence about the discussions that took place within the Special Committee, we can still attempt



Fig. 44. *Edward Tupalski*



Fig. 45. *Antoni Nemeksza (1824–1878)*

to determine the reasons why such caution arose on the part of high-ranking officials. First of all, committee members, or at least some of them, must have been afraid of proselytism by the Catholic Church. During a committee meeting Holy Synod Over-Procurator Tolstoi spoke out more than once on this matter, using the phrase that introducing Russian into supplementary services in Catholic churches was a "double-edged sword."[240] Secondly, by the end of the 1860s the authorities were already using the most brutal methods of Russification more rarely, and so in this case they rejected excessive measures. Some significance may be given to the fact that by this time unofficial talks had already begun with the Holy See.[241]

Despite the fact that the authorities were not prepared for "depolonising the Catholic Church," that is, were not prepared to have even the Gospel or sermons read in Russian, they were still beginning to introduce Russian into Catholic churches. The local authorities found a considerable number of helpmeets among the Catholic clergy. Ferdinand Senchikovskii stood out in particular in this regard. He was appointed dean of the city of Minsk and enjoyed the support, according to scholars, of Lev Makov, the head of the Interior Ministry Chancery.[242] The administrator of the diocese of Vilnius,



Fig. 46. *Lev Makov (1830–1883)*

Piotr Żyliński, aided the introduction of this measure too, as did the rector of the Vilnius Seminary, Edward Tupalski and Canon Antoni Nemeksza.[243] The local authorities found various means to encourage or frighten the clergy. Priests were promised that those who used Russian would be allowed to repair their churches; some made a career for themselves, while the intransigent were forcibly retired to monasteries. Officials approched the police for assistance.[244] Local authorities expended greatest effort in introducing Russian into supplementary services in the diocese of Minsk, which, as we have noted, had been joined to the Vilnius diocese by civil servants. According to various sources, at the beginning of the 1870s Russian resounded in 32 out of the 38 Catholic churches of this gubernia despite frequent opposition on the part of parishioners.[245] According to Merkys, in 1876 no Catholic church in the Vilnius Gubernia used Russian.[246] This state of affairs did not meet the expectations of certain local Russifiers and in the 1880s they proposed once again to return to the demand for "a general rule for the compulsory use of Russian by the Catholic clergy in places where it was the people's language."[247]

The authorities dealt with Protestants in a different way. Potapov, aided by VED Overseer Pompei Batiushkov, attempted to introduce Russian into Calvinist worship in the church near the Slutsk Grammar School.[248] Correspondence between Vilnius and St Petersburg began concerning the possibility of introducing Russian into Calvinist worship. The main problem

facing resolution by civil servants concerned the stance adopted by the Calvinist Synod. Governor General Potapov of Vil'na was of the view that Russian could be introduced only with the consent of Synod, while Interior Minister Timashev proposed quite a cunning plan. The minister admitted that it was desirable to obtain Synod's agreement to the introduction of Russian, but first its opinion had to be sought; if it were possible that Synod would not agree to using Russian, then it should not be asked but simply informed. Synod did not agree to this measure because there were no service books in Russian. Civil servants began to seek out competent people, who would be able to translate these books, but at least at the beginning of the 1870s Russian was not introduced into Calvinist worship.[249]

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Thus, in the history of "depolonising the Catholic Church" in the 1860s we can identify two mutually opposed concepts of Russianness. The first was represented primarily by Katkov and his *Moskovskie vedomosti*, and asserted that the main integrating catalyst for Russianness was language and so a Belarusian Catholic should be regarded as a Russian; he just needed help to realise this. This concept of nationality was in many ways quite modern. The second concept of Russianness, as held by Aksakov, regarded Orthodoxy as the main marker of Russian identity.

We are not going to assert that for all those, who took part in one way or another in the debates surrounding this issue, one concept of Russianness or another was the main or sole motive for supporting or rejecting the proposal for introducing Russian into supplementary Catholic services. An important role was played not so much by the concepts of nationality themselves, as by preferences for one or other form of confessional engineering, especially in the NWP. The proponents of "depolonising the Catholic Church" often asserted that introducing Russian into Catholic churches would lead to mass peasant conversions to Orthodoxy, while their opponents were immediately afraid that this would halt the "return" of the peasantry back to Orthodoxy. This means that for both groups their final aim was to convert Belarusian peasants to Orthodoxy.

An important role in these disagreements was played by how each side assessed the Belarusian consciousness. Opponents of the introduction of Russian into Catholic worship spoke of the danger posed to the religious consciousness of Orthodox peasants. Sermons in Russian in Catholic churches, in their opinion, could easily "seduce" Orthodox believers to Catholicism because outward appearances of Catholic services often drew

them into such churches in the first place. These fears for Orthodoxy not only in the Western Province but also throughout the empire could explain the long duration of the process, which began in the immediate aftermath of the "Rebellion" (the introduction of Russian into Catholic religious instruction in middle schools) up to 1869 in a certain sense (the 25 December Decree allowing the use of Russian in the worship of "foreign confessions"). Insofar as, in the opinion of the "Vilnius clericals" the religious semtiment of the populace was very superficial, it would not be hard to unite all Belarusian Catholics with Orthodoxy. Supporters of "depolonising the Catholic Church" maintained the view that the people had more constant religious views and the mass conversion of Catholics to Orthodoxy was deceptive because at the same time the opposite process was taking place. Consequently, the aim had to be achieved gradually, that is, by introducing Russian into supplementary services first.

The Church Union Project

Together with the more or less actively implemented methods of "direct conversion" other measures were discussed in the 1860s to convert the Catholic population to Orthodoxy.[250] In October 1865 a project for uniting the Churches, called How to End the Abnormal Situation in the Western Gubernias, was presented to the head of the Third Department and gendarmerie chief, Dolgorukov, and at the same time or a little later it was also submitted to the Interior Ministry. The project declared that after no more than twelve years there should not "be a single Catholic Church or priest" in the Russian Empire, except for the Kingdom of Poland.[251] Now we will not only attempt to analyse the project itself, but also outline a range of people, who may have initiated the project, and what their motives may have been.

The author(s) of this tract criticised the practice, which was dominant in the actions of local officials in the mid-1860s when dealing with Catholic converts to Orthodoxy in the NWP. They asserted that it was hard to hold out hopes of converting all Catholics in the province to Orthodoxy and warned that even among those who did convert there would still be many, who remained Catholics in secret nonetheless. Such considerations led to the idea of the need for a different kind of religious policy. The authors of the tract proposed an alternative to "direct conversions," namely Church Union.

The projected Church Union provided for a different form of confessional engineering from that of "direct conversion." The plan was that at first trustworthy Catholics would, without any government intervention, collect signatures on a declaration rejecting "all that is Polish," condemning the

Catholic Church in Russia for being disloyal and also expressing the wish that this Church be subject not to the Pope but to "a spiritual college and authorities appointed at His Majesty's Will," to be called "the Russian Catholic Church [*Rossiiskaia Kafolicheskaia Tserkov'*];" and in addition this Church wished "for ever to be in charity, fraternity and unity with the Orthodox Catholic Church [*Pravoslavnaia Kafolicheskaia Tserkov'*]."[252] The declaration should not use the word "union;" "unity" [*edinenie*] would suffice, nor should it infringe the basic dogmas of the Church or say anything about rites. The declaration admitted that the motives for gentry and clergy to sign it would not be dogmatic, but social and political, even mercantile.

The initiators were in no doubt that the Catholic bishops would hinder the implementation of this project and so it was proposed that all bishops along with the Administrator of the Diocese of Vilnius (Żyliński) be summoned to St Petersburg, "where some kind of occupation could be thought up for them;" and in their place loyal prelates should be appointed as temporary diocesan administrators. It was proposed that the problem posed by the bishops should be resolved either by winning over one of the bishops, who might hope to become metropolitan, or by consecrating new bishops "by a council of senior priests from among the prelates" or even by an Orthodox archbishop.

The whole of this matter was supposed to be set in motion by a completely privately-owned or, at least semi-official newspaper with a monopoly on the subject. After collecting no less than half a million signatures they would approach the tsar, who would issue a manifesto to bring the project into effect. A negative reaction from the Pope would provide grounds for a complete break with the Holy See.

The implementation of this project was supposed to be the work of a council comprising delegates from the Catholic population of the empire, including the clergy and also representatives appointed by the government. Representatives from the Holy Synod should be present for discussion of matters involving the Orthodox Church. The first council, elected for three years, should prepare for a radical transformation of the Catholic Church within the Russian Empire (except for the Kingdom of Poland).

This council was supposed to find a metropolitan and bishops for all dioceses, if none of the existing Catholic bishops accepted the Union. Then the council was supposed "to define relations between the Russian Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church, to be known as the Union" and set up a range of powers for a new collegial body analogous to the Orthodox Synod – the "Russian Catholic Spiritual College" [*Dukhovnaia Kafolicheskaia Rossiiskaia kollegiia*] chaired by a metropolitan and under the secular control

of an over-procurator. In the future the powers of this college were to be extended to cover the selection of candidates for the office of metropolitan or bishop before their appointments were confirmed by the tsar himself. The council was intended to discuss various measures to draw the Churches closer together: the abolition of sacerdotal celibacy for Catholic priests; the translation of religious books from Latin and Polish so that not only teaching in the Catholic Spiritual Academy and the seminaries but also divine service should be in Russian; permission for "the clergy of both Churches to hold stations of the cross-, and other services jointly on especially high holy days;" and then when the Russian translations of the Latin and the Polish services were ready for use to allow "Orthodox priests to serve in Catholic churches and Catholic priests in Orthodox churches;" the formation of "Christian brotherhoods." These brotherhoods were supposed to include not only Orthodox and Catholic Christians but also members of other Christian denominations and were to be led by both a Catholic and an Orthodox priest. The first council was also to ensure that no Catholic church existed in the Russian Empire outside the Kingdom of Poland, with the exception of St Petersburg, where there was to be a Catholic church to serve foreigners. The second council was intended to deal with implementing the measures outlined above. A third or fourth council "might resolve the matter completely and lead to the final merger of the Churches."

No attention was paid in this project to the ethnic Lithuanian Catholic population, which, as has already been noted, was regarded as being very religious to the point of "fanaticism." On the one hand, the influence of the Catholic Church among Lithuanians could have become a serious argument in favour of the Union. Even the most zealous supporters of Russifying the Lithuanians admitted that using "forced conversions" would not help them make Lithuanians join Orthodoxy. As we have noted, in the mid-1860s a mass conversion of Catholics to Orthodoxy did not affect the Kovno Gubernia, where Lithuanians were dominant. Therefore a Union could have been viewed as the only way to abolish Catholicism among Lithuanians. On the other hand, the "Lithuanian factor" could be considered the Achilles' heel of the general plan for a Church Union. It is very likely that the problem posed by ethnic Lithuanians was not raised deliberately. The implementation of this project surely required special resolution on the part of the imperial authorities, while in the Kovno Gubernia they could not resolve to carry out the least radical measures, such as removing the Catholic bishop of Žemaitija (Telšiai), Valančius, who opposed many of the government's measures systematically.[253] Although it seemed officially that there was not enough legal evidence against Valančius, there were undoubtedly more weighty



Fig. 47. *Adam Kirkor (1818–1886)*

reasons. First of all the Lithuanian bishop was better for the authorities than a Polish one. Secondly, the government did not wish to arouse greater opposition from the Lithuanians.

Local Catholics most likely took part in drafting this project (the editor of the official local newspaper, Kirkor and the Minsk leader of the local gentry, Eustachy Prószyński), as well as the former head of the Orthodox Bishopric of Minsk, Archbishop Antonii (Zubko).[254] Only Kirkor reminded the central authorities of these proposals (on two occasions) in 1866.[255]

It is quite difficult to explain the motives which made Prószyński and Kirkor take part in one way or another in the drafting of this project. Prószyński was a less well-known figure than Kirkor at that time. Local officials regarded him as an activist, who was loyal to the government.[256] Otherwise he would not have been made leader of the local gentry. In 1863 the Minsk gentry leader spoke of the prospects for turning the Russian Empire into a "purely Russian state," including the western borderlands, and forming a nominally independent "Poland of ten millions" as a protectorate. This Polish state not

only would not present a danger to Russia, but also, in Prószyński's words, it would become "a threat to the Germans."[257] We might suppose that the reflections of 1863 and the Church Union project had the same logic, namely the assimilation of the non-Russian population of the western borderlands would remove an object of dispute between the Russians and Poles and they would become allies. Unfortunately, this hypothesis does not explain why Prószyński himself did not convert to Orthodoxy. In other words, it is hard to determine Prószyński's motives.

In the case of Kirkor we must pay attention to an earlier episode in his life. At the beginning of the 1850s he published his work in Russian only and in 1853 he even asserted that he no longer intended to write in Polish.[258] If it were possible to reject the Polish language, why could he not do the same with the "Polish religion?" In the 1850s and early 1860s a concept of Lithuanicity based on the historic and cultural circumstances of Lithuania, rather than ethnic considerations was followed in his historical oeuvre and correspondence. At that time Kirkor laid special stress on the difference between Lithuanians and Poles.[259] In addition, being the editor and publisher of *Vilenskii vestnik* during the Uprising and subsequent repressions, Kirkor was unambiguous in his support for the authorities. The various metamorphoses in Kirkor's views is probably what caused contemporaries to regard him as a man without firm convictions. "Kirkor was a man of few talents and did not stand out for the conscientiousness and strength of his convictions, and he scarcely belonged to the Polish nation."[260]

It is impossible to dismiss completely the supposition that Kirkor only gave form to the project and that the ideas came from Archbishop Antonii or Prószyński; that he put it down in writing and added a publicist's touch, complementing the project with an "ideological" basis. In support of this view we may adduce the fact that certain local activists, for example, the above-mentioned Derevitskii used Kirkor's services in presenting and editing their own tracts.[261] Kirkor may have acted as a promoter for this project with a view to being able first and foremost to publish his own newspaper. It was almost exactly at this time that the local authorities took the local official newspaper, *Vilenskii vestnik*, away from him.

We might also raise the hypothesis that Kirkor took it upon himself to provide a base for the plan to unite the Catholic and Orthodox Churches in order to avoid the complete eradication of the Catholic Church from the empire. As we have noted, 1865 and especially 1866 witnessed the apogee of anti-Catholic action on the part of the local authorities. Being aware of the tendency to expand anti-Catholic policy, Kirkor, like certain other Catholics, might have cherished the hope that the Union would not be institutionalised



Fig. 48. *Antonii (Zubko) (1797–1884)*

for long and that therefore it might be possible to preserve certain Catholic traditions and ceremonies. Indirect confirmation of this hypothesis is provided by the negative reaction to the project and also the general idea of such a Union on the part of certain representatives of the "Russian cause" in the province, especially the promoters of the traditional identification of Orthodoxy with Russianness. In 1866 Kirkor himself wrote that "here the very thought of union is regarded as treason."[262] It seemed to one of Kaufman's experts on Catholic matters, Derevitskii, that Prószyński's proposals were based not on the sentiments of a trusted subject but on the realisation that "in the said locality the Latin Faith, given the domination of Orthodoxy and, taking other circumstances into account, could be ruined without a chance of revival" and that a union was needed in order to preserve Catholicism.[263]

The motives of Archbishop Antonii, the former Uniate suffragan bishop of the Lithuanian Diocese, who between 1840 and 1848 was head of the Orthodox Diocese of Minsk and Bobruisk, and who took an active part in destroying the Graeco-Uniate Church in the Russian Empire, except for the Kingdom of Poland, in 1839, are easier to explain, even though in this case too we come face to face with certain metamorphoses. Almost immediately after the "Reunion," in 1840 Antonii proposed to the over-procurator of the Synod, Nikolai Protasov, that he rely not solely on the "Reunion" of the Uniates but go even further to forge a union with the Catholic Church without

changing Catholic rites.[264] Zubko asserted that all the Catholic clergy would agree to such a "unification." Antonii also proposed a specific way to effect such a "unification": it would have to begin with the subjection of the Catholic Church in the Russian Empire to the Orthodox Synod, a rejection of the most important Catholic dogma (the *Filioque* clause in the Creed) and changes in the way one of the mysteries was carried out (Holy Communion) and then it would be necessary to unify rites. To enter the Union, according to Antonii's blueprint, ordinary Catholics would only have to swear loyalty to the Russian Empire. Although at the time the highest authority (Tsar Nicholas I) did not agree to such a move (his official comment was "this is interesting and very important, but ahead of its time and it should be kept secret for the time being"[265]), it is of more interest to us that there is a very important similarity between Antonii's proposals of 1840 and the Union project from the mid-1860s: in both cases the main driving force on the road to "unification" comprised the higher strata of Catholic society, the clergy and the gentry.

However, after the Uprising Antonii, who was already without a post, proposed quite a different kind of confessional engineering. At that time, in Antonii's opinion, it was already necessary to make a move on the peasants, which can be explained easily in a certain sense, bearing in mind the Emancipation of the Serfs. He gave his preference in missionary work not to the Orthodox clergy but to local civil servants, asserting that the peasants, "moved by vibrant gratitude for their emancipation from serfdom," would trust them rather than Orthodox priests, in so much as such a step was required of them by

> His Majesty and Little Father [*bat'ka*] Murav'ev. If Orthodox priests talked to them about this, they would think that the priests <…> only wanted to increase their number of parishioners. But they would believe it, if a high-ranking civil servant like Storozhenko together with justices of the peace would speak of the matter to them, and they would agree to become Orthodox after open talk and explanation.[266]

Antonii put forward a whole programme of material incentives for the neophytes, including monetary sums, parcels of land and such like. In these discussions Antonii reminded his audience of the proposals of Father Bronisław Zausciński, a Catholic priest, who had proposed cutting off "our Roman Catholics from the Pope so that a local Roman Church would be at one in faith with Orthodoxy and later merge completely with it." However, in 1864 Antonii had not supported such an idea, saying that it was then necessary to try to unite the peasants and leave the "upper levels" in peace.[267] Clearly, "annihilating Roman Catholicism in our country" was a priority for



Fig. 49. *Andrei Kutsinskii*

Antonii, and one or other means of implementing confessional policy depended on specific circumstances. In the second half of 1865 he was able to decide that the time had now come to deal with the "upper levels."

As we know, the imperial authorities made no attempt to implement this project. Earlier we mentioned that the supporters of "direct conversion" hoped within some five years or so to convert all Catholic Belarusians to Orthodoxy. These civil service hopes did not apply to the upper social strata or the Lithuanian population. However, at least part of the Catholic population suspected that the government intended to convert all Catholics to Orthodoxy.[268] Similar ideas for a union, or at least of cutting off Catholics in the empire from the Pope were close to the hearts of certain officials and even governors general. According to one of Murav'ev's closest aides, Murav'ev considered the possibility of separating the local Catholic Church from the papacy "in the form of a schism."[269] But Murav'ev took no specific steps in this direction. Again in 1865, another of the governor general's aides at the time, Potapov too wrote of the possibility of "separating Russian

Catholics once and for all from the influence of Rome and introducing sacerdotal marriage."[270] Avgust Gezen, a DDDII official, suspected his boss, Sivers, of similar thoughts.[271]

The project we have discussed here was itself supported by several influential officials. The chief of the Fourth District Gendarmerie Corps, General Andrei Kutsinskii, who spoke well of the author of the project (most likely, Kirkor), passed the project on to the head of the Gendarmerie, Prince Dolgorukov, and he also noted that these proposals were well known to Potapov too.[272] This very fact allows us to suggest that Kutsinskii supported the idea of uniting the Churches. We may suppose that the project was also of interest to Governor General Kaufman, to whom Antonii wrote about the matter.[273] It may be that the project, or just the idea itself, was discussed informally by the Inspection Commission.[274]

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Why did the usual bureaucratic procedure for discussing the projected Church Union, let alone attempts to implement it, never begin? First of all, we must bear in mind the fact that not all officials were in a hurry to destroy Catholicism within the empire. We have already mentioned how Interior Minister Valuev did not adopt any radical measures. Such a step would have meant international problems, first of all concerning the Holy See (the Concordat was dissolved only in November 1866[275]). On the other hand, it may be that the authorities were not so keen on the projected union because the initiative in this case was shown by Catholics themselves, and it did not suit the most dyed-in-the-wool Russifiers also because it could be taken as a step aimed at avoiding the complete eradication of the Catholic Church from the empire.

VI. Metamorphoses in Language Policy

Research into the concept of Russianness in mid-nineteenth-century Russian discourse has shown that language, as well as religion, was an important criterion defining individual national identity.

Certain actions in imperial policy in the NWP were sometimes referred to as "the restoration of the rights of the Russian language." This phrase meant nothing less than a change in the status of other languages used in the province, usually to their detriment. The situation of non-dominant language groups, of course, differed. Socio-linguists stress that the emancipation of one language or another, and in our case, that would be the ability to resist pressure from Russian, was determined by several factors such as the language's level of standardisation; distance from other languages; real, or at least imagined historical tradition; use of the language in the public arena and a sufficient number of speakers; emotional attachment to using the language, which would encourage people to ensure its survival.[1] Polish was strongest in effect according to all these parameters, while the weakest language was Belarusian.[2] It is important that when basing themselves on such parameters and certain ideologems, for example, the so-called tripartite concept of the Russian Nation or the ethno-linguistic proximity of Lithuanians to Slavs, the imperial authorities formed the relevant hierarchy of languages used in this province, which determined specific moves in national policy.

The Elimination of Polish from Public Life

According to the interpretation dominant at that time in official and public discourse, the NWP had to be "returned" to its correct path of development, from which it had forced to deviate by the "Polish element." According to Governor General Murav'ev of Vil'na, "Polish Catholic propaganda" had been active for a long time without restraint, and had managed to gain quite an effect on ordinary people, whom it had inculcated with the thought that Polish was, and ought to be, the language of the inhabitants of this province.[3] Thus in 1863 a drastic moves began to eliminate Polish from public life.[4]

The local authorities in the NWP at once set about eliminating Polish from the public arena. Murav'ev issued an edict requiring the use of Russian instead of Polish in the signs of all public institutions, advertisements and written financial accounts.[5] Polish was also to be eliminated from all public correspondence, be it between officials themselves, or between officials and members of the public.[6] Polish libraries were to be closed down if they did not have official permission to operate.[7] Later Governor General Kaufman



Fig. 50. *Announcements forbidding the speaking of Polish in public*

repeated and expanded Murav'ev's prohibitions: the use of Polish was forbidden in all public institutions and even in the streets and public gatherings if there were "political expressions" rather than private matters being discussed. Polish was outlawed too in all public meeting places such as hotels, hostelries, public rooms, buffets, cafés, parks, shops and the like, if speaking in Polish covered matters, which were not of a strictly private nature.[8] This view of the proper position of the Polish language is illustrated well by the case of Fr Michał Meżytowicz, who proposed publishing a Lithuanian-Polish-Latvian-Russian dictionary. VED Overseer Batiushkov did not oppose the publication of such a dictionary *per se,* but agreed only on condition that Polish was not present (as it was a "completely unnecessary language") and Lithuanian and Latvian words were printed in Cyrillic characters.[9] As historians have noted, official institutions hung up signs saying it was "forbidden to speak Polish."[10] Street names were also changed. In Vilnius streets were renamed after Russian towns such as Arkhangel'sk, Saratov, Tsaritsyn, and Tambov. The Polish Theatre in Vilnius was closed down. The last Polish performance was given in 1864.[11] At the end of the 1860s officials in the NWP together with pro-Russian Catholic priests like



Fig. 51. *Theatre Square, Vilnius (1873–1881)*

Senchikovskii, even proposed forbidding Polish inscriptions on tombstones, but the authorities did not follow this through.[12]

The means of eliminating Polish from the public arena were much more drastic than those implemented in the Kingdom of Poland, which, as we have noted, was treated as an imperial possession, but not as ethnic Russian territory. The differences in the treatment of Polish in various parts of the Western Province gave rise to strange cases. Thus Shuvalov, head of the Third Department, criticised the instance, where it was possible to speak in Polish in a railway carriage in central Russia or the Kingdom of Poland but not while the same train was in Kaunas.[13]

Imperial officials understood perfectly well that it would not be so easy to eliminate Polish completely from public life. Novikov complained to Aksakov that not only gentry and peasants but also Jews did not shun speaking Polish in public institutions.[14] Thus, desiring to change the language situation in the NWP really, a policy of systematic inculcation of Russian had to be enforced, especially in schools.

Depolonising Schools

If we wish to explain the authorities' policy towards Polish in schools after 1863, we must first describe what went before. As the "Thaw" began, when the new tsar ascended the throne, conditions were formed for the gradual return of Polish to official public use. At the end of 1856 Alexander II agreed that Polish could be taught in middle schools. Admittedly, it was supposed to taught as an ordinary foreign language, that is, only grammar was to be taught (without literature) and only one or two hours could be devoted to the subject per week.[15] These amendments were introduced later in the Kiev Education District (in 1860).[16]

The local NWP authorities reacted strictly and negatively to requests from the gentry to return Polish as a language of instruction. VED Overseer Shirinskii-Shikhmatov regarded this request for Polish to be used in grammar schools as implying one thing, namely that if this language were introduced into schools, there would be no grounds for denying its use in other public institutions too.[17] However, before the 1863–1864 Uprising began the imperial authorities admitted that Poles could learn Polish as a separate subject.

The beginning of the Uprising forced the central authorities to review the status of Polish in schools.[18] Admittedly, at first St Peteresburg had its doubts over which path to take. Early in 1863 Education Minister Golovnin approached Alexander II with a request to eliminate Polish from state schools. The tsar instructed that the issue be presented to the governors general in the Western Province and education district overseers and they approved the proposal. Afterwards the Western Committee approved the proposal on 9 July and its conclusions were confirmed by the tsar on 18 July. However, Interior Minister Valuev, who had not taken part in the 9 July meeting and had often opposed the more radical means of depolonisation, attempted to convince Golovnin that this matter should be repealed. Although usually the imperial authorities avoided revealing their own decisions, this time Golovnin listened to Valuev's opinion and on 1 August 1863 the edict was amended so that for the time being no new Polish language teachers would be appointed to vacant posts, but the elimination of the language and the teaching posts would be discussed along with the new status of grammar schools, which was being considered at that time.[19] The Western Committee was induced to take its final decision on this matter in May 1864 by a note from Governor General Murav'ev of Vil'na, which clearly set out the necessity of no longer teaching Polish in middle schools.[20] Polish was not only driven out of the syllabus but also in certain grammar schools pupils were forbidden to use it even outside lessons.[21]

Unlike the status of Polish in middle schools, where, as we have seen, there was certain indecisiveness on the part of the authorities even after the Uprising began, the situation in primary schools was unambiguous for the authorities and they decided that Polish could not be the language of instruction or even a subject for study in such schools.

The stance taken by NWP officials on this matter changed as 1862 moved into 1863. Historians have noted the instruction issued to governors by Governor General Nazimov of Vil'na on 23 December 1862, ordering them to close down schools, which had been established without official permission, where Polish language and Catholic religion were being taught.[22] A little later Nazimov drafted a letter to the education minister revealing the strict position he had taken, whereby there should be no place for Polish in the education of the common people. The first draft mentioned that

> although it would not be convenient to forbid the teaching of Polish in certain areas completely, this should take place together with the teaching of Russian, with the difference being that Russian should be compulsory for all pupils,

while the final draft does not mention the possibility of studying Polish at all.[23] A consensus was reached between Vilnius and St Petersburg on this matter: the Provisional Regulations of 23 March 1863 intended for various so-called "people's schools" in the Western Province stated that primary education should take place only in Russian.[24]

On 1 January 1864 Murav'ev himself repeated the prohibition on teaching peasants Polish and spreading Polish textbooks among the peasants or Catholic catechisms among Orthodox peasants, and huge fines were introduced for those breaking the prohibition: after discovering an underground school the authorities could impose an impressive fine of up to 900 rubles, a huge sum for the period, with 600 rubles being imposed on the gentry, up to 200 on an estate manager and 100 for the teacher.[25]

The ineffectiveness of this system became apparent almost immediately as illegal schools began to be set up quickly and these taught Polish. The chief of the Sventsiany Gendarmerie Command (Vil'na Gubernia) claimed that many peasants were teaching their children Polish in secret.[26] Often there was a great deal of this teaching without its even being hidden from local officials. It was no great secret to the local authorities that underground teaching took on various forms: there were illegal parish schools connected with churches, which paid most attention to religious instruction; landowners also set up underground schools, which taught children Polish; and even the petty gentry took pains to have peasants learn Polish.[27]

However, wishing to curtail the spread of Polish among the masses, officials had to do more than eliminate it from the syllabus. Since the Polish language was not to reach the ordinary people in any form, officials considered that the peasantry had to be "protected" from Polish books too.

Policy Towards Polish Books

Quite swiftly in the wake of Murav'ev's 1 January 1864 Circular, forbidding the distribution of Polish textbooks among the peasantry, came another logical instruction from the governor general: on 26 March 1864 the Vilnius Censors' Committee was instructed not to accept any Polish primers for approval or publication and to forbid the import of any Polish history books, historical maps and children's games into the NWP. In June of the same year, after receiving the approval of Interior Minister Valuev, Murav'ev repeated his instruction once more, supplementing it with the requirement to check up on all such publications on sale at the time. In October 1864 the governor general forbade the publication, import or sale of calendars in Polish. This prohibition was confirmed by Governor General Kaufman in a circular, dated 23 July 1866. Furthermore, it was forbidden for small bookshops or hawkers to sell Polish books (except prayerbooks) in the NWP, as the authorities could not control such trade.[28] Because Polish books became unnecessary for educational establishments, they were taken off the shelves and destroyed.[29]

Thus the imperial authorities determined to leave readers in the NWP not only without Polish books aimed at ordinary people (textbooks, calendars and the like) but also any volumes, which might recall the existence of an independent Poland in one way or another. As of January 1864 the official local newspaper, *Kurier Wileński* [*Vilenskii vestnik*] began to publish only in Russian (previously it had used two languages and some articles were published in Polish) and Polish periodical imprints vanished completely.

The same day as the restrictions on the sale of Polish books in bookshops were introduced, 23 July 1866, Kaufman forbade publishers to keep Polish characters and instructed that should necessity arise, quotations in Polish be printed in "Russian letters, as is done for those learning to write in the Kingdom of Poland."[30]

These restrictions did not last long, since Polish literature flooded into the NWP from ethnically Polish lands and so the publication of Polish books was made easier. In 1869 publishers were allowed to have Latin characters "to publish Polish books."[31] The censors were instructed to keep a strict eye on the contents of such literature and not allow any anti-government books to be published.[32]



Fig. 52. *Segei Uvarov (1786–1855)*

Although this period of the attempted Cyrillicisation of Polish writing was more of a marginal than a strategic part of Russian policy towards the Poles, an analysis of how this idea was born and how it evolved can help us gain a better understanding of the imperial bureaucrats' view of the functions of Polish and Polonicity in general in both the NWP and the Kingdom of Poland in the future.

The introduction of Cyrillic into Polish writing in the 1860s was not the first experiment of its kind. Tsar Nicholas I had instructed two committees to consider this matter in 1844 and 1852. As we can see from Boris Uspenskii's research, the persons who took part in discussing the introduction of Cyrillic did not even have a single opinion of who was to be the object of this reformed written Polish. Education Minister Platon Shirinskii-Shikhmatov (1850–1853) appears not to have held a clear vision of this experiment and considered that writing Polish in Cyrillic characters would benefit Russians, allowing them to become better acquainted with Polish literature. Meanwhile, Nicholas I hoped that new books would replace the Polish primers in Latin characters to which the Poles had become accustomed. At the time the imperial authorities acted with caution, and even when they published an anthology of Polish works, they attempted to disguise their initiative and present the publication as a private project.[33] Both this caution and the unclear formulation of the aims of this experiment and even the recognition on the part of high-

ranking and influential imperial civil servants, such as Education Minister Uvarov, that Cyrillic could not be adapted for use in Polish, show that at that time this measure was not conceived of as a tool for assimilating the Poles.[34] The most we can see here is the acculturation of the Poles.

This idea was recalled in the 1860s and this time it had a clear ideologue, namely Hil'ferding. This influential Slavophile considered that the Russian Empire could not give up the Kingdom of Poland if for no other reason than the fact that Poles would lay claim to the Western Province. In other words, even after removing rebellious Poland from the empire, Russia would still have a Polish Question. Therefore reforms had to be introduced into the Kingdom of Poland itself to neutralise the Polish Question. In essence Hil'ferding proposed maintaining the same principle of "divide and rule" as had been a part of proposals made before the Uprising. It is no coincidence that members of the Provisional Committee in the Kingdom of Poland, who were also responsible for nationality policy in the empire's borderlands, called their policy "the Final Partition of Poland."[35] Only this time the dividing line was to be drawn not according to ethnicity but first and foremost a social principle. It was proposed "protecting" the Polish peasantry, who had preserved their authentic Slavonic culture from the gentry tradition, which was permeated by Western influence.[36] Russifiers sometimes formulated this idea of splitting the Poles internally in an even more radical way, stressing ethnographic differences between various regions.[37] In other words the thought was planted that there was no united Polish nation, just different ethnographic groups. Another way to deny Polish cultural autonomy was the stress laid on their linguistic and cultural proximity to the Russians.[38] This significance given to the internal fragmentation of the Polish Nation as well as alleged linguistic and cultural proximity to the Russians allowed Slavophiles, especially Hil'ferding, to put forward radical proposals for cultural engineering.

There was an historical justification for using Cyrillic in writing Polish, one of the most important measures, which was supposed to transform the political idea of who was a Pole into a purely ethnographic one, whereby only certain ethnographic nuances distinguished the Poles from the Russians rather than any disagreements caused by civilisation, history or politics. Hil'ferding, like certain other Slavophiles at the time claimed that all Slavs at first were Orthodox and used Cyrillic. Thus it is no surprise that he drafted a common alphabet for all Slavs, which was supposed to become an important instrument for spreading panslavonic influence.[39]

In Warsaw Hil'ferding had a fellow-minded supporter in the person of Stanisław Mikucki, who worked in the Warsaw Public Library and was interested in the study of languages. Most probably Hil'ferding made his acquaintance during his student years at Moscow University. Mikucki claimed that

> the Slavs should form not a single state, but a single people, a single nation, with a single international language, which, of course, should not prevent the development of local dialects. The spiritual and literary rapprochement and unification of the Slavs should begun from the alphabet; all Slavs should have a single alphabet and a single orthography, based on the history of Slavonic dialects and etymology. If the Slavs have a single alphabet and a single othography, then the best creations of the Polish, Czech, and Serbo-Croat dialects will be shared by all Slavs.[40]

In order for the creation and functioning of such an alphabet to seem more realistic, Mikucki, like certain other Slavophiles, sought demonstratively to diminish the status of the Polish language. When writing about Polish he often used the term "dialect."[41] This is no coincidence or an imprecise use of terminology. In Mikucki's construction of a common standardised language functions are allotted to a common Slavonic language: "Our most important dialects (Russian, Polish, Czech and Serbo-Croat) are closer to one another than local Italian dialects (Piedmontese, Venetian, Neapolitan and Sicilian) are."[42] In this context we are not surprised by the use of the ethnonym "Mazovian" rather than "Polish."[43] Thus various rhetorical means were used in this attempt to demean the status of the Polish language and nation, so that it would be possible to justify proposals to create a common alphabet and then in the future a standardised language.

This piece of radical cultural engineering aimed at a literature endowed with deep traditions was not just the theoretical deliberation in periodical press or private correspondence of a few scholars or would-be scholars. After 1863 several Polish books were published in Cyrillic characters on Hil'ferding and Mikucki's initiative in the Kingdom of Poland for the use of primary schools.[44] Some of them, like *Элементаръ для дзеци вейскихъ* [A Village Children's Primer], was even reissued. These textbooks, according to the Polish historian Maria Strycharska-Brzezina, were used in Polish primary schools until 1869–1870, while Polish dominated in these schools and Russian was taught only as a special subject. However, after Education Minister Tolstoi set about implanting the Russian language in schools at all levels in



Fig. 53. *A Polish primer in Cyrillic*

the Kingdom of Poland, the primary school syllabus underwent changes. From the school year 1872–1873 Russian came to dominate in primary schools, although Polish remained as a school subject. After syllabuses changes other textbooks were published. The bilingual 1876 Russo-Polish primer had the Polish text transliterated into Cyrillic characters.[45]

Those who introduced Cyrillic into the writing of Polish even wished to expand the boundaries of their project. The head of the civilian administration in the Kingdom of Poland, N. Miliutin, inspired probably by Hil'ferding, was interested in the distribution of the above-mentioned textbook in the NWP too. However, as far as we can tell from available sources, the NWP authorities did not sympathise over much with this idea. Governor General Kaufman of Vil'na noted that there were Poles among ordinary people in only certain districts of the Grodno Gubernia.[46] Here we should recall that, according to the dominant theory of the day, only members of the upper classes in the NWP were to be regarded as being Polish, while the common people were to be protected from Polonisation. It was for this reason, as we have already remarked, not only the importation of literature for the masses was forbidden in the NWP but so also was its publication there. Polish textbooks, even those printed in Cyrillic, could only sustain knowledge of Polish among peasants. Russifiers in the NWP did not desire this at all. In other words, in the NWP the greater Russifers were not those, who proposed distributing Polish books in Cyrillic, but those who opposed this proposal.

Another of Mikucki's proposals also failed to win the authorities' support, namely to publish Polish prayerbooks in Cyrillic too.[47] As we have already remarked, the officials and influential public campaigners who discussed the fate of Polish in the worship of "foreign confessions" were split into two groups; one proposed using Russian, while the other favoured the status quo. As far as we can tell, Mikucki's idea was not even discussed.

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When summarising the imperial authorities' Polish language policy measures taken in the NWP after the Uprising of 1863–1864, we can see that, despite the proposals from Hil'ferding and Mikucki to use Cyrillic for writing Polish in the NWP as well as in the Kingdom of Poland, these and other such radical forms of cultural engineering did not become the dominant strain of nationality policy. The imperial authorities did not even take pains themselves to distribute the afore-mentioned primers to schools; they passed on this task to the Warsaw bookshop belonging to the Petersburg merchant, O. Kozhantsev.[48] Thus we can see that between 1852 and 1866 nothing changed here. Imperial officials in Petersburg or Russifiers in Vilnius knew perfectly well that in the near future it would be impossible to root the Polish language out of educated society.[49] The most important aim of Russian policy towards Polish was to prevent the masses from using it. This aim was also served by many of the discriminatory measures mentioned here, such as the driving out of Polish from educational establishments, the prohibitions on publishing, importing and distribution of books in Polish for the ordinary people, and so on.

Jews and the Russian Language

There is, in contemporary historiography, a consensus as to when the Russian policies with regard to the so-called Jewish Question evolved from "improvement" and "positive influence," aiming at "merger" or "rapprochement," to measures of a segregationist character.[50] This process is dated to the 1880s, though Dmitrii El'iashevich notes that in the sphere of censorship, certain shifts on the ideological level already occurred in the 1860s. It is in this period that the censors began to lose every interest in Jewish religious literature.[51] Ample attention has been given by scholars to discussions of the "Jewish Question" in the Russian press, the situation of the state-run Jewish schools and government censorship of Jewish books and periodicals.[52] Recent research has paid special attention to the Jewish Question in the context of the policy pursued by officials in the NWP.[53]

Dolbilov has discussed in great detail quite recently the views of local bureaucrats with regard to the "Jewish Question." He has concentrated on how the confessional nature of the Russian Empire influenced its Jewish policy. Dolbilov placed confessional engineering in the Jewish Question between two paradigms with intervention, reglamentation and discipline, on the one hand, and discrediting non-intervention, on the other.[54]

This part of the book will focus precisely on the 1860s. Its subject will be the language policies of the tsarist regime with regard to the Jews of the NWP. What we will be interested in is how the local officials in these areas assessed the linguistic situation among the Jewish population and how they proposed to change it. Of course, in Russian nationality policy, the linguistic aspect did not exist as a separate issue. It was perceived as part of a more general problem, that of Russification. This compels us to touch upon other issues as well, first of all, those connected with the transformation of various institutions (schools, for instance) in which one or other language was used.

Russification à la Murav'ev

Klier is, of course, to a large extent right when he states that "Murav'ev was too busy hanging Poles to worry too much about the Jews."[55] Still, the Jews were also affected by Russification policies, and it is our contention that they were affected, first of all, in the context of the anti-Polish policies of the imperial authorities.

It is well known that the transformation of part of the state-run Jewish primary schools into Jewish "people's schools" was carried through under the direction of the Governor General of Vil'na, Murav'ev.[56] Here we will try to shed light on the following questions: Who were the initiators of this transformation? How were the relevant decisions taken? What aims were being pursued?

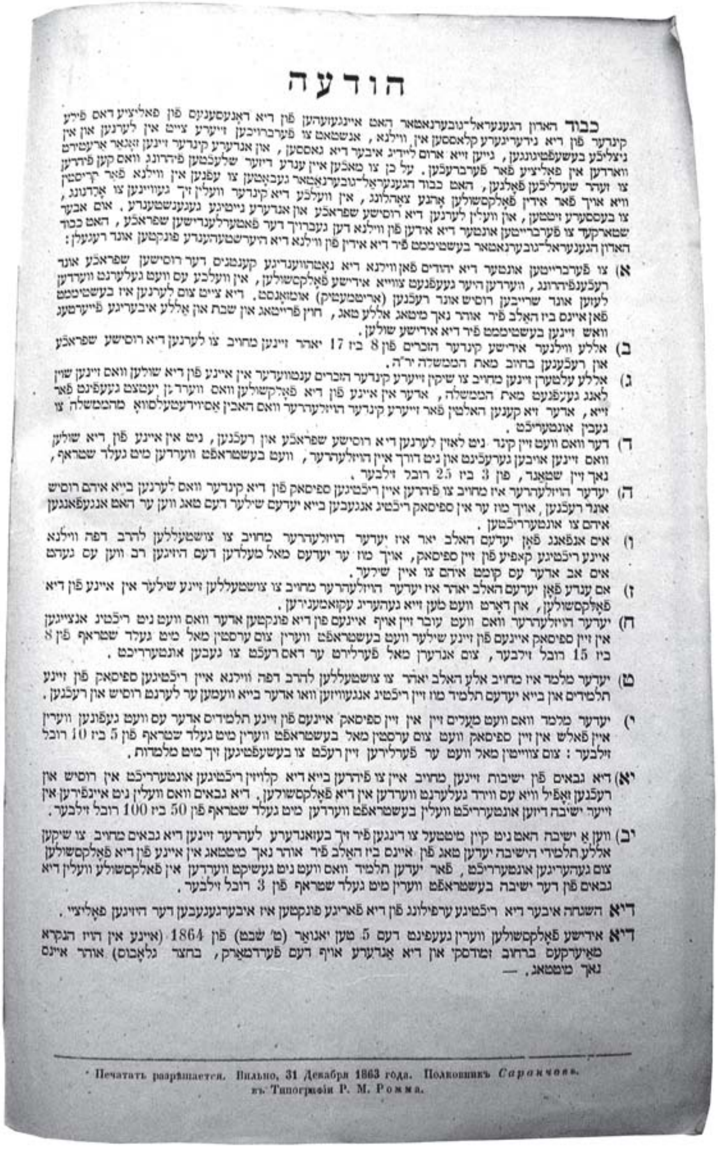
As far as can be judged from the data at our disposal, the initiative toward transforming part of the state-run Jewish schools in Vilnius emanated from a group of *Maskilim* and more specifically, from the state-appointed Vil'na Rabbi, Osei Shteinberg. Toward the close of 1863, presumably in November, the governor general of Vil'na, who favoured the idea of the establishment of new schools, gave instructions to create a commission that would also include other *Maskilim*, such as Lev Levanda, and whose task it would be to lay down new regulations for the education of Jewish boys.[57] In the early days of December, these proposals were discussed by the Teachers' Council of the Vil'na Rabbinical Seminary, which also supported the envisaged reforms.[58]



Fig. 54. *Osei Shteinberg*

What did these new rules provide for? First, the training of Jewish boys in Russian literacy was made compulsory; parents were obliged to have their children educated not only at the already existing general education schools, state-run Jewish schools or by private tutors holding a private teacher's license but also at the schools newly established for the Jews, where the teaching programme provided only for the so-called "general subjects" ("The subjects taught at these schools are: Russian language, Russian writing and arithmetic"). The regulations also provided for fines to be imposed on parents who did not take care to have their children instructed in the Russian language.[59] Murav'ev endorsed the new regulations immediately, without having secured approval for them previously in St Petersburg. He ordered the Jewish first degree school in Vilnius to be closed down and two new schools, implementing the newly sanctioned programme, to be established in its place.[60]

Yet it took Murav'ev a lot of insistence to carry his project through.[61] In the capital and, more particularly, in the Ministry of Education, the reforms were met without enthusiasm. The officials at this ministry may well have taken the view that Murav'ev had exceeded his authority, since the system of state-run Jewish schools did not exist only in the NWP.[62] Still, the governor general of Vil'na was adamant about having the schools transformed as soon as possible.[63] On 5 January 1864, two Jewish "people's schools" were opened instead of the disbanded state-run Jewish school, and new regulations

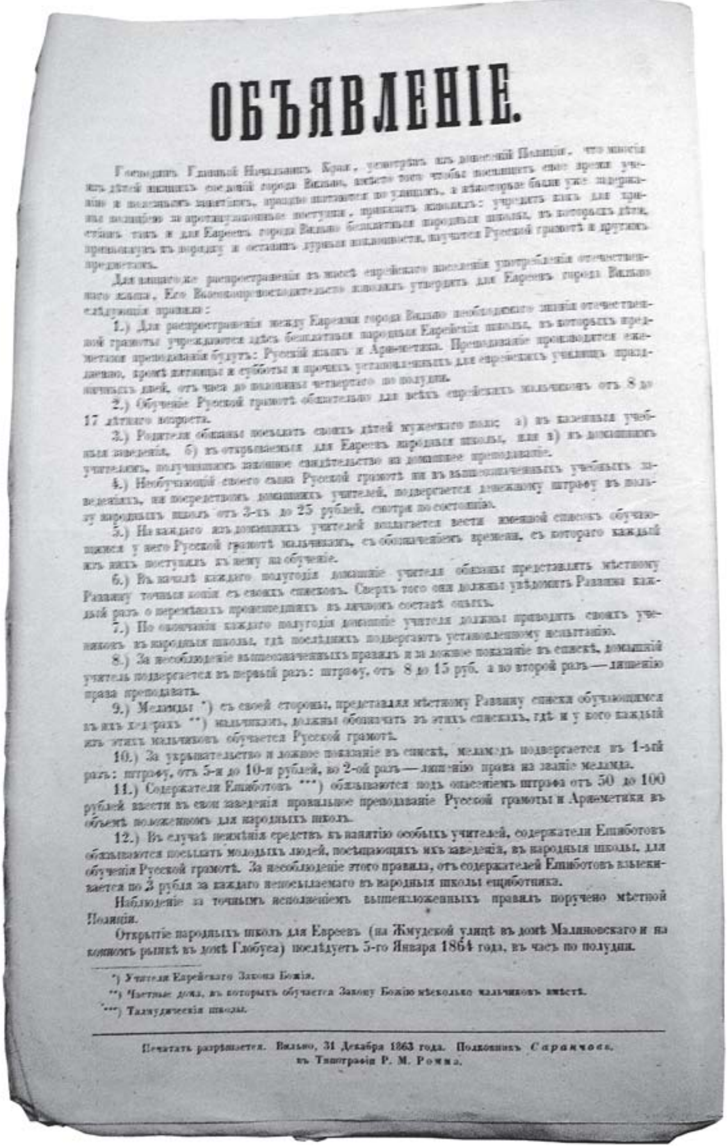


הודעה

כבוד הארון הגענעראל־גובערנאטאר האט איינגעזעהען פֿון דיא דאָנעסענים פֿון פּאָליציע דאס פֿיעל קינדער פֿון דיא נידעריגערע קלאססען אין ווילנא , אנשטאט צו פֿערברייבען זייערע צייט אין לערנען און אין ניצליכע בעשעפֿטיגונגען , גייען זייא ארום ליידיג איבער דיא גאססען , און אנדערע קינדער זיינען זאָגאר ארעטירט ווארדען אין פּאָליציע פֿאר פֿערברעכען . על כן צו מאכען איין ענדע דיזער שלעכטען פֿיהרונג וואס קען פֿיהרען צו זעהר שעדליכען פֿאָלגען , האט כבוד הגענעראַל־גובערנאַטאר געבאָטען צו עפֿנען אין ווילנא פֿאר קריסטען וויא אויך פֿאר אידען פֿאָלקסשולען אָרגע צאָהלונג , אין וועלכע דיא קינדער וועלין זיך געוויינען צו אָרדנונג , צו בעססערע זיטטען , און וועלין לערנען דיא רוסישע שפראכע און אנדערע נייטיגע געגענשטענדע . אום אבער שטארקער צו פֿערברייטען אונטער דיא אידען פֿון ווילנא דען געברויך דער פֿאטערלענדישען שפראכע , האט כבוד הארון הגענעראל־גובערנאטאר בעשטיממט פֿיר דיא אידען פֿון ווילנא דיא הירשטעהענדע פּונקטען אונד רעגעלן :

Печатать разрѣшается. Вильно, 31 Декабря 1863 года. Полковникъ *Сарончовъ*.
въ Типографіи Р. М. Ромма.

Fig. 55–56. *Announcement of the introduction of compulsory education for Jewish boys*



ОБЪЯВЛЕНІЕ.

Господинъ Главный Начальникъ Края, усмотрѣвъ изъ донесеній Полиціи, что многія изъ дѣтей низшихъ сословій города Вильно, вмѣсто того чтобы посвящать свое время ученію и полезнымъ занятіямъ, праздно шатаются по улицамъ, а нѣкоторые были уже задержаны полиціею за противузаконные поступки, приказать изволилъ: учредить какъ для христіанъ, такъ и для Евреевъ города Вильно безплатныя народныя школы, въ которыхъ дѣти, пріучаясь къ порядку и оставивъ дурныя наклонности, научатся Русской грамотѣ и другимъ предметамъ.

Для вящаго же распространенія въ массѣ еврейскаго населенія употребленія отечественнаго языка, Его Высокопревосходительство изволилъ утвердить для Евреевъ города Вильно слѣдующія правила:

1.) Для распространенія между Евреями города Вильно необходимаго знанія отечественной грамоты учреждаются здѣсь безплатныя народныя Еврейскія школы, въ которыхъ предметами преподаванія будутъ: Русскій языкъ и Ариѳметика. Преподаваніе производится ежедневно, кромѣ пятницы и субботы и прочихъ установленныхъ для еврейскихъ училищъ праздничныхъ дней, отъ часа до половины четвертаго по полудни.

2.) Обученіе Русской грамотѣ обязательно для всѣхъ еврейскихъ мальчиковъ отъ 8 до 17 лѣтняго возраста.

3.) Родители обязаны посылать своихъ дѣтей мужескаго пола: а) въ казенныя учебныя заведенія, б) въ открываемыя для Евреевъ народныя школы, или в) къ домашнимъ учителямъ, получившимъ законное свидѣтельство на домашнее преподаваніе.

4.) Необучающій своего сына Русской грамотѣ ни въ вышеозначенныхъ учебныхъ заведеніяхъ, ни посредствомъ домашнихъ учителей, подвергается денежному штрафу въ пользу народныхъ школъ отъ 3-хъ до 25 рублей, смотря по состоянію.

5.) На каждаго изъ домашнихъ учителей возлагается вести именной списокъ обучающимся у него Русской грамотѣ мальчикамъ, съ обозначеніемъ времени, съ котораго каждый изъ нихъ поступилъ къ нему на обученіе.

6.) Въ началѣ каждаго полугодія домашніе учителя обязаны представлять мѣстному Раввину точныя копіи съ своихъ списковъ. Сверхъ того они должны увѣдомлять Раввина каждый разъ о перемѣнахъ происшедшихъ въ личномъ составѣ оныхъ.

7.) По окончаніи каждаго полугодія домашніе учителя должны приводить своихъ учениковъ въ народныя школы, гдѣ послѣднихъ подвергаютъ установленному испытанію.

8.) За несоблюденіе вышеозначенныхъ правилъ и за ложное показаніе въ спискѣ, домашній учитель подвергается въ первый разъ: штрафу, отъ 8 до 15 руб. а во второй разъ — лишенію права преподавать.

9.) Меламды *) съ своей стороны, представляя мѣстному Раввину списки обучающимся въ ихъ хедерахъ **) мальчикамъ, должны обозначать въ этихъ спискахъ, гдѣ и у кого каждый изъ этихъ мальчиковъ обучается Русской грамотѣ.

10.) За укрывательство и ложное показаніе въ спискѣ, меламедъ подвергается въ 1-ый разъ: штрафу, отъ 5-и до 10-и рублей, во 2-ой разъ — лишенію права на званіе меламда.

11.) Содержатели Ешиботовъ ***) обязываются подъ опасеніемъ штрафа отъ 50 до 100 рублей ввести въ свои заведенія правильное преподаваніе Русской грамоты и Ариѳметики въ объемѣ положенномъ для народныхъ школъ.

12.) Въ случаѣ неимѣнія средствъ къ наятію особыхъ учителей, содержатели Ешиботовъ обязываются посылать молодыхъ людей, посѣщающихъ ихъ заведенія, въ народныя школы, для обученія Русской грамотѣ. За несоблюденіе этого правила, отъ содержателей Ешиботовъ взыскивается по 3 рубля за каждаго непосылаемаго въ народныя школы ешиботника.

Наблюденіе за точнымъ исполненіемъ вышеизложенныхъ правилъ поручено мѣстной Полиціи.

Открытіе народныхъ школъ для Евреевъ (на Жмудской улицѣ въ домѣ Малиновскаго и на конномъ рынкѣ въ домѣ Глобуса) послѣдуетъ 5-го Января 1864 года, въ часъ по полудни.

*) Учители Еврейскаго Закона Божія.

**) Частные дома, въ которыхъ обучается Закону Божію нѣсколько мальчиковъ вмѣстѣ.

***) Талмудическія школы.

Печатать разрѣшается. Вильно, 31 Декабря 1863 года. Полковникъ *Саранчовъ.*
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were endorsed providing for both compulsory education and pecuniary penalties.[64]

That Murav'ev was able to push through his reforms should not surprise us too much. At that time, many people felt obliged to reckon with the opinion of the governor general of Vil'na, ministers included. On the other hand, from a formal point of view, the minister of education authorised Murav'ev to introduce only insignificant changes in the system of Jewish education. The minister's telegram mentioned only the closing down of **one** (state-run) school and the establishment of **two** new "people's schools;" but nothing was said about compulsory schooling or a radical reform of the whole system of Jewish education.

The Vil'na governor general had to address this problem a second time early in 1865. His evident dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Jewish population to the study of the Russian language found expression in circulars, addressed to the governors and the VED overseer. In these circulars, he not only reiterated his instructions of 1864 but also imperatively emphasised once more the compulsory character of instruction in the Russian language for all Jewish boys.[65]

These reforms have been characterised subsequently as measures tending towards Russifying the Jews.[66] At first glance, one could hardly disagree with such a view. The purpose of the local authorities in enforcing such measures was to ensure that all Jews of the male sex should learn Russian. It should also be borne in mind that there was no other national group in the NWP for which instruction in Russian was made compulsory. Yet, a closer scrutiny of the system of Jewish education and the motives inspiring local officials shows that we would be oversimplifying the situation grossly if we tried to classify these measures under the notion of Russification in the sense of assimilation. Here we will discuss the two most momentous innovations among those referred to above separately: the transformation of the state-run school into so-called "people's schools" and the compulsory character of instruction in the Russian language.

First, we should answer the question how the local authorities could arrive at the conclusion that the first degree Jewish state schools no longer corresponded to the goals of the government? In order to answer this question we must broaden the context of the problem under consideration here.

As we know, in the state schools established within the Pale of Settlement from the 1840s graduates of two rabbinical schools (in Vilnius and Zhitomir respectively) were appointed as teachers of Jewish subjects, while other subjects could be taught by either Jews or Christians.[67] At the same time, at first only Christians could be supervisors. From 1862 it was

decided to appoint graduates of rabbinical seminaries to these posts too.[68] The so-called Jewish subjects in these schools were given more time than religious instruction in other schools. As we know, these schools, according to Education Minister Uvarov, were supposed to defanaticise, if we may use that term, Jews, and "merge" them with or cause them to "draw closer" to the surrounding Christian population. "Rapprochement" or "merger" was understood as a rejection of "jargon" and mastery of Russian, or at least of German, the study of general subjects, and at least a reduction in the influence of the Talmud. This policy of acculturation in many respects facilitated the formation of the first generation of Russian Jewish intelligentsia. However, during the so-called "Great Reforms," especially in the 1860s, many imperial civil servants, primarily those who had worked within the Pale of Settlement, began to doubt the point of this system of maintaining separate Jewish schools.

At the turn of the 1850s and 1860s officials spoke out more often in favour of retaining the system of separate Jewish schools. One of the arguments expressed, for example, in Education Minister Golovnin's note in favour of retaining these primary schools was the short period during which they had functioned.[69] Sometimes there were also face-saving arguments, such as when the director of schools in the Grodno Gubernia remarked that because of their "fanaticism" Jews had long opposed the establishment of Jewish state schools and had not sent their children to them. The government's deviation from its former path may have been interpreted by the Jews as recognition of the fact that they had behaved well. In the 1860s VED officials also often acknowledged that separate Jewish schools were necessary because children went to school understanding only their own "jargon."

However, the fact that at the turn of the 1850s and 1860s most VED officials had spoken out in favour of the further existence of state Jewish schools still does not mean that these educational establishments were not subject to criticism. They even acknowledged that it was necessary to reform state-run Jewish primary schools. According to the claims of many civil servants from the VED, the number of pupils in state Jewish schools not only did not increase but also even declined.[70] Most often the so-called Jewish subjects were discussed. According to local officials, Jews regarded state schools as "purely Christian institutions," that is, they did not trust teachers of religious instruction. Therefore as early as 1850 the director of schools in the Grodno Gubernia proposed introducing the

teaching of "certain parts of the Talmud" into these schools and allow the Jewish community itself to appoint teachers of this subject (the Talmud was not on the syllabus of first and second degree schools but was taught in rabbinical schools). It was also possible to extend this measure to the selection of teachers of other so-called Jewish subjects. Control in this case on the part of the authorities was guaranteed by the facts that candidates had to have been trained in these matters in a rabbinical seminary.[71] However, there was also another, in some sense, opposite approach to resolving this problem. A decree of 4 May 1859 allowed Jewish children to study religion in schools or with private teachers in order to overcome Jewish mistrust of the teaching of Judaism in state schools.[72] It seems that the Interior Ministry's Commission of Rabbis proposed going even further and removing religious subjects from the curriculum of state schools.[73] It is known that such an exemption of pupils from lessons in so-called Jewish subjects was granted in practice. In Vileika (Vil'na Gubernia) in autumn 1863 approximately fifteen Jews agreed to send their sons to school after receiving the assurances of the supervisor of the state Jewish school on sole condition that they were exempted from studying Jewish subjects because the curriculum was not sufficient for children who had already studied with the *Melamedim*. VED Overseer Shirinskii-Shikhmatov consented to this "as an experiment."[74] In the context of these resolutions and proposals for transformation, the measures adopted by Murav'ev were not a great innovation.

Let us recall that in the new schools only "general subjects" would be taught and, in accordance with the newly introduced regulations, these subjects would have to be scheduled "between one p.m. and half past three in the afternoon."[75] It was, thus, evidently assumed that before noon Jewish boys would attend the lessons of *Melamedim*. This, in turn, means that religious education, which was then obligatory for children of all persuasions, was left outside the scope of government interference.

According to available evidence, another confessional group enjoyed such a "privilege" in the empire's western borderlands, namely the Old Believers. In order for Old Believers to attend general schools, civil servants were prepared to exempt them from religious instruction. This subject was also absent from the Grebenshchikov School in Riga, which was designated for this religious group.[76]

There is hardly any need to emphasise that religion was the quintessence of Jewish distinctness (that is, how it was perceived both by the Jews

themselves and, what is more important in this case, by the tsarist authorities). At the opening of one of the new schools, Governor Paniutin of Vil'na, hastened to assure the Jews that the intention of the local authorities was to "preserve the religion they confessed inviolate."[77]

Oblique evidence for such an argumentation is also provided by a proposal from Aleksandr Postel's, one of the members of the Council of the Ministry of Education who, after an inspection of all kinds of Jewish schools between May and September 1864, suggested two types of solutions for reforming the first degree state-run Jewish schools. He proposed that in those places where "Jewish fanaticism" was still strong, Jewish subjects were to be excluded altogether from the teaching programme; while in those where "the grip of fanaticism on the Jewish population was less strong," the volume of Jewish subjects being taught was to be reduced.[78] That is, in Postel's' view, the schools offering instruction only in the so-called general subjects were just a first step on the way towards the integration of the Jewish community. In this case, the authorities renounced direct influence on the religious concepts of the Jewish population.

Finally, the authorities did not embark on the path of total transformation of the first degree Jewish schools into Jewish "people's schools." They also refrained, in the 1860s, from closing these schools altogether and having Jewish and Gentile children schooled together, even though suggestions to this effect were frequently uttered both in ongoing debates in the NWP and in the broader context of the Russian Empire.[79] The state schools were kept open because, even if the "Jewish" subjects had been removed from the curriculum of the primary schools, Jewish boys would have had to be instructed in them anyway, and not just by anyone, but by *Melamedim*. If the authorities in Vilnius could hope the graduates of the Rabbinical Seminary would exercise a beneficial influence over the religious instruction of Jewish children, the children in other towns of the NWP would have fallen under the influence of "fanatical" *Melamedim*.[80] The first degree Jewish state schools were "the only means of improving the system of instruction in Jewish subjects."[81] On the other hand, with the aim of reducing the isolation of the Jews, the local authorities had obtained permission in 1865, without awaiting the results of the debates going on in the 1850s and 1860s in the Ministry of Education concerning the future of the separate Jewish schools, to reorganize these schools in the VED (first in the gubernias of Vil'na, and later on in those of Kovno, Grodno and Minsk[82]). The *Haye Adam*, Maimonides and Jewish prayers were removed from the curriculum in these schools; Hebrew

language and Bible lessons were retained. The time originally reserved for the now discarded subjects was used for instruction in the Russian language, arithmetic and Russian handwriting.[83]

We will now address the question of whether compulsory schooling of Jewish boys should be taken as direct evidence for a design by the local authorities to assimilate the Jews. For the local administration, it was no secret that all Jewish boys received instruction. The compulsory character of schooling was needed only as a means of countering the traditional Jewish elite, which, in the local officials' view, could be expected to oppose all reforms whatsoever. When the newly appointed overseer of the VED, Kornilov, arrived in Vilnius on 21 February 1864 (that is, after the introduction of the new regulations on compulsory schooling), he declared that "the compulsory character of schooling had been deemed necessary in order to counterbalance the influence of the *Hasidim* and *Melamedim*, who would certainly have opposed attendance at these schools."[84] However, apart from that, compulsory schooling was also expected to neutralise other influences on the Jewish masses. The problem, as the local officials saw it, was to determine which of the competing influences – Russian, Polish or German – would achieve dominance in Jewish society. In the above-mentioned circular of the governor general of Vil'na, issued in the early days of 1865, instructions were given "to put an end to the unwarranted use of the Polish idiom among the Jewish population."[85] In a note written after his retirement from the office of governor general, Murav'ev recommended educating the Jews in an anti-Polish spirit.[86] This means that by introducing compulsory school attendance for Jewish boys, the authorities were concerned, first of all, with ousting Polish from Jewish life and replacing it with Russian.

Thus the establishment of Jewish "people's schools" and the introduction of compulsory study of Russian after the Uprising of 1863–1864 ought to have strengthened the Russian influence over the Jewish masses, first and foremost via the spread of the Russian language. However, at the same time, at least the steps taken by Murav'ev can be explained as a reduction of pressure on the most basic attribute of Jewishness, namely religion. In this case, in Vilnius especially, the local authorities hoped to influence Judaism in a more indirect way through the graduates of rabbinical seminaries. We may suppose that the governor general of Vil'na prioritised the attraction of this religious group into state schools and linguistic assimilation in resolving the Jewish Question. The local authorities may have cherished the hope that

state schools, which did not teach religious subjects, would be more attractive for Jews, who would not see any encroachment on their religion in them. At the same time we see in the person of VED officials a striving to extend further the policy aimed at "amending" and "acting positively" towards Judaism alongside their stress on the teaching of Russian. The system of state Jewish schools was not transformed totally into one of "people's schools" after all, and so-called Jewish subjects were taught further, but less time was devoted to them.

Another aspect we should not leave out of consideration is the way in which Murav'ev's instructions were implemented. Here, it should at once be added, the authorities were faced with a host of problems. First, the January circular of the governor general of Vil'na placed some of the senior local officials in an awkward situation: it was revealed that some of them, such as the governor of Mogilev, knew nothing about the earlier instructions issued by Murav'ev.[87] In a way, this was hardly surprising. The regulations issued a year earlier by Murav'ev affected only the Jews of Vilnius. Secondly, when making schooling compulsory, the authorities had omitted making detailed preparations for this step. A consequence of this was that in many localities, for example, in the gubernias of Vitebsk and Mogilev, the authorities were unable to secure a place in the schools for all those wishing to attend and could hardly, in such circumstances, impose fines on parents.[88] Third, the available evidence suggests that in the gubernias more remote from the "capital" of the NWP, the authorities were unable to exact fines from the parents who refused to have their children instructed in Russian.[89] And, when these gubernias (that is, those of Vitebsk, Mogilev and Minsk) were excluded altogether from the authority of the governor general of Vil'na in 1869–1870, the governor-general's circular lost its significance there completely.[90] Finally, some local officials do not seem to have considered the general governor's circular a sufficient authority to act upon in the absence of sanction from a higher power. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain the fact that early in 1867 the KPUE debated the question whether "instruction in Russian literacy should not be made compulsory for the Jews."[91]

As mentioned above, the introduction of compulsory instruction in the Russian language for Jewish boys and the establishment of Jewish "people's schools" was intended to spread the Russian language among the Jewish population. But how deeply was the Russian language to pervade Jewish life in the opinion of the local officials?

Is There a Future for the "Jargon"?

Most VED officials gave preference to graduates of the Rabbinical Seminary whenever teachers were sought for the Jewish state-run, or "people's schools."[92] One reason for this was that unlike Russian teachers, who "content themselves at school with teaching their subjects without interfering with the Jewish faith or with the *Kahal's* community rule," the alumni of the Rabbinical Seminary also acted on the religious ideas of their pupils. That is why the VED board declined a request from the Jews of Kaunas (the "old faction," as the officials called them) to have Russians rather than Jews appointed to the positions of inspectors and teachers in the Jewish "people's schools."[93] Secondly, alumni of the Rabbinical Seminary seemed more fit for these jobs if only because

> as fellow-Jews and persons coming generally from the poorer classes, they are accustomed to the specific characteristics of the Jewish nation and put up with them more easily than the Russians, who often find it impossible to bear these characteristics.[94]

Thirdly, local officials recognised that, upon entering the schools, the Jewish children often "did not understand a word of Russian."[95] In other words, the authorities acknowledged that, at least in the initial phase of instruction, the "jargon," as the Yiddish language was called by the *Maskilim* and the imperial bureaucracy, could not be dispensed with.[96]

Thus, as P. Marek pointedly observes, a paradoxical situation obtained in schools where Jewish pupils were taught: "While Yiddish was used in schools, everybody pretended that it did not exist and that the teaching was done in German or Russian."[97] The question we will now endeavour to answer is: what status did the local officials in the NWP intend to assign to Yiddish in the hierarchy of languages in the NWP?

In the 1860s, a period of almost wholesale Cyrillicisation of various languages in the western borderlands of the Russian Empire, not a single proposal was voiced, as far as we know, to introduce the Russian alphabet in Yiddish writing, even though whenever Jewish publications had to be cited in a Russian text (in books, journals, newspapers etc.), one was compelled to transliterate titles into the Russian alphabet. The fact that nobody suggested Cyrillicising the "Jewish jargon" could be explained as follows. First, in those cases where the Latin alphabet was banned, or the Cyrillic alphabet was introduced experimentally, as was done for the East Slavonic languages (Ukrainian and Belarusian), Lithuanian and even Polish, historical arguments

played an important though, of course, not decisive role. It was pointed out that there was an ethnic and linguistic affinity with the Russians and the Russian language – corrupted, it was true, by "Polish" influence (in the case of the Lithuanians, Belarusians and Ukrainians) or by "western" influence (in the case of the Poles). The otherness of the Jews and their language, Yiddish, was not called into question by anybody, although the assertion was occasionally raised that "in Belarus, Lithuania and Podolia, up to the seventeenth century, the Jews did not know any language other than Russian."[98] Secondly, as is known, the Cyrillic alphabet was introduced in the Volga-Kama Region, for instance, for the Kreshchen Tatars and other non-dominant national groups whose ethnic distinctness was not subject to doubt. But in those cases, the Russian alphabet was introduced for Orthodox Christians. As for the Jews, nobody seriously envisaged their conversion to Orthodoxy, as will be seen later. Thirdly, in the conviction of both the Russian bureaucrats and the second generation of *Maskilim*, who had a palpable influence on the positions of the administration of the NWP as regards the Jewish Question, there was no future whatsoever for this language, so that it was simply not worthy of Cyrillicisation. The attitude of the local bureaucrats toward different local languages becomes particularly evident when they start comparing them. One of the most energetic adherents of the "Russian cause," Novikov, expressed himself as follows:

> I am speaking only of the use of the Russian language in public life, as this language never enters the sphere of domestic and family life; there is indeed no reason for wishing, and no hope of achieving, a situation in which the people would altogether abandon their native language [Lithuanian] in favour of Russian. The Žemaitijan-Lithuanian dialect is worlds apart from the local Jewish jargon.[99] [stress added]

And Novikov was not the only one to whom complete linguistic assimilation of the Jews appeared as a task readily to be accomplished. As we see, the local officials hoped they would cope with the "jargon" even more effortlessly than with the "Žemaitijan-Lithuanian dialect." Let us give this aspect some closer consideration.

The local officials and the *Maskilim* were unanimous in their assessment of Yiddish:

> It is a mixture of distorted Russian, Polish, Biblical, Chaldean, French, Spanish and, most of all, Low German words. This jargon is a medley

> composed of fragments and shreds of different idioms and dialects of the various countries through which the Jews have passed on their historical wanderings. In the jargon, a sentence consisting of five or six words is made up of five or six languages, and each word has an outlandish grammar of its own: a Russian word assumes a French plural ending, a distorted German word gets a Polish suffix, a Biblical noun is twisted into a German verb and pronounced in the Old Spanish fashion. The Jargon is too poor to express even a small portion of the notions needed by modern man, even by the common folk.[100]

But the most important thing was not that the "jargon" lacked the attributes indispensable to a "normal" language or, as we would say now, a standard language. What was worse was that in the view of both the *Maskilim* and the local bureaucrats, it served as a vehicle for the German language and thereby also for the Germanisation of the Jews.[101] In this respect, the local bureaucrats were particularly alarmed by the situation in the Kovno Gubernia, which bordered both on Prussia and the Baltic Gubernias.[102]

In these circumstances, it is not surprising to see the Vil'na officials toying with the idea of imposing restrictive regulations on the Yiddish press.[103] In June 1866, Governor General Kaufman of Vil'na, who was initially hesitant to forbid publications in Yiddish, gave instructions to the local censor to the effect that "with the aim of ousting the Jewish jargon from the press <…> Jewish secular works in the jargon should be published with a Russian translation *en regard*." It was soon realised, however, that this measure would hardly achieve the expected result because, first, books in the "jargon" could be printed in other towns of the empire and imported into the NWP, and the bilingual editions, being more expensive, would be unable to compete with them; secondly, the Jews would not buy such bilingual editions.[104] This led Kaufman to formulate a new proposal: "whether it would not be preferable to forbid printing in the Jewish jargon altogether, and to permit printing in the Russian language only."[105] As can be seen from this proposal, Kaufman was hesitant, the more so because the KPUE, which he had himself created, did not support the measures he proposed.[106] In October of the same year, the governor general himself was dismissed from office.

Thus, though Kaufman considered prohibiting printing in Yiddish, this was, so to speak, prevented by objective circumstances. The bulk of the Jewish population did not know any other language than Yiddish and a ban on import of Yiddish publications from abroad and from other towns of the empire was hard to carry through.[107]

His successor, Baranov, who seems to have had no clear vision of the aims of government policies with regard to the Jewish Question, ventured only upon less radical measures.[108] In August 1867, the governor general of Vil'na issued an instruction to the effect that

> a revision of the guidelines for censorship should provide for the prohibition for editors and censors to replace words lacking in the jargon for the expression of various concepts with German words, and for the obligation to replace them with Russian words.[109]

Officials were convinced, as mentioned earlier, that Yiddish was a Low German dialect, and it was even asserted that it was becoming increasingly similar to German, mainly because "the jargon was being enriched continually with German words."[110] Inasmuch as both the "Jewish jargon" and "the local dialects" (Belarusian and Lithuanian) were, at best, viewed as vehicles for other, "civilised" languages, it is not difficult to grasp Baranov's logic. By introducing Russian words into Yiddish editions, he was evidently hoping to make the Russian language more comprehensible and familiar to the Jews. His successor, Potapov seems to have shared his predecessors' views on Yiddish.[111]

The prohibition on teaching Jewish handwriting introduced as a result of a request from the head of the four-form Boarding School for Jewish Girls, Shaul Perel', to VED Overseer Kornilov in 1866 was a measure intended to stop Jews using Yiddish.[112] According to Perel', the teaching of this subject was hindering pupils from studying and becoming accustomed to the Russian language. We might even suppose that local officials were afraid that Jews, who had learned the Hebrew alphabet (and it seems they could not see the difference between the classical Hebrew alphabet and the adapted form used for writing Yiddish), would not learn Cyrillic. The director of the Vilnius Rabbinical School, Nikolai Sobchakov, recalled in this context how many of the pupils of this school had earlier "written down their Jewish history lessons, which were conducted by the late Volf Tugengol'd in German, in Hebrew characters."[113] Sobchakov may have feared that now, when Russian was taking over the place held previously in Jewish education by German, the younger generation of Jews would write down their lessons, such as Russian history, in Hebrew characters rather than Cyrillic.

Such a negative view of literature in Yiddish was also characteristic of most officials in St Petersburg. This affected, first of all, Yiddish periodicals. Applications for permission to publish new periodicals in Yiddish were regularly turned down from 1868 onward. This has led El'iashevich to speak

of a policy of "almost total prohibition," even though in the same year 1868, the Chief Department of Press Affairs granted Aleksandr Tsederbaum permission to continue the publication of two separate newspapers in Odessa: *Ha-meliz* in Hebrew and *Kol mevaser* in Yiddish.[114]

The local adherents of the "Russian cause" also undertook an attempt to limit the distribution of publications in Hebrew. At the initiative of the KPUE, the governor general of Vil'na, Baranov, submitted a proposal to the minister of education to the effect that the Society for the Spread of Education among the Jews of Russia [*Obshchestvo rasprostraneniia prosveshcheniia mezhdu evreiami Rossii*; henceforth – ORPMER] should not be permitted to issue publications "in any other language than Russian."[115] The Vilnius *Maskilim* and officials objected to the "Hebraisation of science," that is, the publication of scholarly books in Hebrew, something the ORPMER had just started practicing. For all practical purposes, they pronounced themselves in favour of resolute linguistic Russification.

However, Interior Minister Valuev, did not uphold these prohibitive measures.[116] The minister pointed out that it was impossible to interfere with the activities of a private society, and that in the case of a prohibition affecting the ORPMER, private persons would start publishing such books; but the main reason was, of course, that Valuev did not support radical Russification policies. The minister was partial to a more traditional solution of the Jewish Question, providing for the education of the Jews in other languages besides Russian. Hebrew writings could serve the purpose of the government in the dissemination of Russian enlightenment:

> It seems to me that at the present moment, as long as the existing foundations of the economic life of the Jews have not changed, our concern should be not so much to compel Jews to learn Russian (though this is, perhaps, an issue for the near future) as to acquaint them, albeit in their own language, with the achievements of Russian culture and with Russian history; this way of making the Jews ready for the reception of culture is a slow one, it is true; but we will hardly be mistaken in saying it is the right one.[117]

The Jewish Teaching Aids Evaluation Committee of the Ministry of Education did not support the idea either.[118]

Sometimes the situation of Hebrew was associated by bureaucrats with the role, which Latin played in the Christian community. The Academic Committee of the Ministry of Education remarked that Jews "use it only rarely in conversation and correspondence, using a few words in the way

that we are wont to do with Latin." Opponents of radical prohibition measures claimed that Hebrew did not inhibit Jewish integration into Russian society at all. On the one hand, they wished to illustrate the unreality of removing it from worship (they drew attention to the German case where "Reformed Jews" "to this day have not decided to remove it completely from use in their worship"), while, on the other hand, they pointed to the impossibility of turning a "dead language" into a spoken one.[119]

The most complex issue was, of course, the introduction of Russian into the religious life of the Jews.

In What Language Should the Jews Pray?

In response to Murav'ev's above-mentioned January circular, the Teachers' Council of the Vil'na Rabbinical Seminary decided, on 23 February 1865, that the courses in Bible study, moral theology, Hebrew language and Jewish history would henceforth be taught in Russian.[120] In the course of time, other so-called Jewish subjects started being taught in Russian as well, and by the end of 1867 this process of transition to Russian was complete.[121]

The introduction of Russian into the teaching of the so-called Jewish subjects, especially when extended to other Jewish schools, and its introduction into Jewish liturgy, required the corresponding religious books to be made available in Russian.[122] However, from the 1840s to the end of the 1850s the imperial authorities did not give permission to publish any Jewish texts in Russian.[123]

In their endeavours to introduce Russian into the teaching of so-called Jewish subjects and into the Jewish liturgy, local officials had at least two powerful allies. First, they were supported in their efforts by the local *Maskilim*. As far back as Nazimov's term of office as governor general of Vil'na, rabbis had started preaching in Russian in the synagogues.[124] Later on, the psalms of David were translated into Russian and sung in the synagogue and, more generally, the idea was launched that Russian should become the "synagogal" language of the Jews.[125] In August 1862, Osip Gurvich, a non-tenured teacher of the Minsk second degree Jewish State School, submitted a request to the board of censors for permission to publish a Jewish prayerbook which he was translating into Russian.[126]

As mentioned above, the use of Russian in the religious services of the "foreign confessions" was also advocated by Katkov, editor of *Moskovskie vedomosti*, who expressed the view that "Jews cannot regard Russian as their own language as long as they do not have the right to use it in the performance of their religious duties." Furthermore, he invoked the



Fig. 57. *Osip Gurvich*

experiences of other European states where the translation of religious literature intended for Jews into the dominant "autochthonous" languages had already been practised for a long time.[127] Failing to introduce Russian into the Jewish liturgy would mean, for all practical purposes, contributing to a further spread of the German language, which would strengthen Prussia's influence on the Russian Jews. The use of Russian in the synagogues would contribute to the "merger" of the Jews into the Russian nation.[128] This stance of the editor of *Moskovskie vedomosti* deserves closer consideration, if only because the Vil'na officials lent their ears to his opinions.

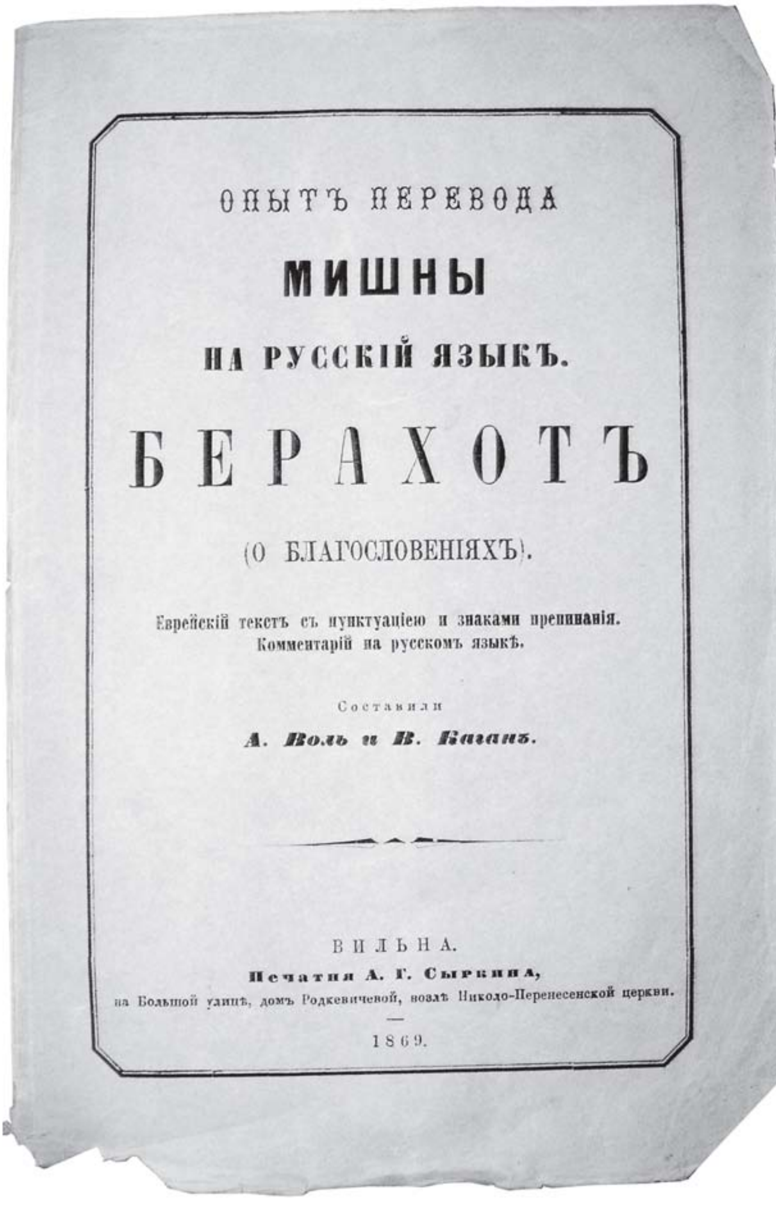
The Vilnius *Maskilim* had set up a complete programme for the "translation and compilation of Jewish-Russian teaching aids." A note submitted in September 1867 to the VED overseer by Samuel Finn, editor of the Hebrew newspaper *Ha-karmel*, which also had a supplement in Russian, mentions manuals for the Rabbinical Seminary (a Bible translation with a brief commentary in Russian, with the Hebrew text added as a transitional measure; translations of certain Mishnaic treatises; a compilation of religious and moral guidelines and Manual of Liturgy in Hebrew with a Russian translation; a comprehensive and a concise Hebrew grammar; a monolingual Russian manual of Biblical history; and a manual of post-Biblical Jewish history) and textbooks for the first degree Jewish schools as well as private schools (a Hebrew-Russian primer and a prayer-book with Hebrew texts added).[129]

Yet such a relatively ambitious programme encountered certain difficulties, which will now be discussed in more detail. Even VED Overseer Kornilov, at whose initiative the whole programme had been drawn up and who endorsed Finn's note with the comment, "I will gladly lend my support to this endeavour, which I regard as useful," only gave his permission for translations of part of the books on the submitted list. Kornilov consented to the translation of the *Mishna*, a comprehensive and a concise Hebrew grammar, a manual of post-Biblical Hebrew history, a Hebrew-Russian primer and a prayer book.[130] In this case, the VED overseer did not explain his decision not to permit the translations of other religious books for the Jews, but we can gain more clarity about his motives from the administrative correspondence connected with the printing or import of both types of books – both those which the overseer marked with the words "I agree" and those which did not gain his approval.

Ignorance of Russian among Jewish children and the apprehension that the Jews might perceive such novelties as "an infringement on the very quintessence of their religion," as *Birzhevye vedomosti* put it, were sometimes invoked as motives pleading against such an experiment during debates on this question in bureaucratic circles. [131] The reason for which some of these books were actually printed in bilingual editions was precisely to ensure that those who knew only Yiddish would "master the Russian language in a quicker and easier way."[132]

Sometimes permission for the printing of one or other of the above-mentioned books in Russian was refused or delayed on various grounds. The Jewish Teaching Aid Evaluation Committee of the Ministry of Education withheld permission for the printing of a catechism translated by Finn, because only part of its text had been submitted for inspection. Moreover, the committee members disagreed with Finn about what should be regarded as the principal dogmas of Judaism; they also pointed out that some places in the catechism submitted for publication were too difficult for children.[133] Sometimes the officials in the capital found "a considerable number of lapses from pure and correct Russian usage in the translations."[134]

In some cases, officials in the capital or the Orthodox bishops expressed their apprehension that these books would strengthen Jewish "fanaticism," that is, the isolation of this ethno-confessional group. In the outcome of discussions on the publication of the above-mentioned prayerbook compiled by Gurvich in the Interior and Education Ministries it was decided that permission should be granted only on the condition that "an examination of this prayer-book by a censor would reveal no endeavour to put the Jewish



ОПЫТЪ ПЕРЕВОДА

МИШНЫ

НА РУССКІЙ ЯЗЫКЪ.

БЕРАХОТЪ

(О БЛАГОСЛОВЕНІЯХЪ).

Еврейскій текстъ съ пунктуаціею и знаками препинанія.
Комментарій на русскомъ языкѣ.

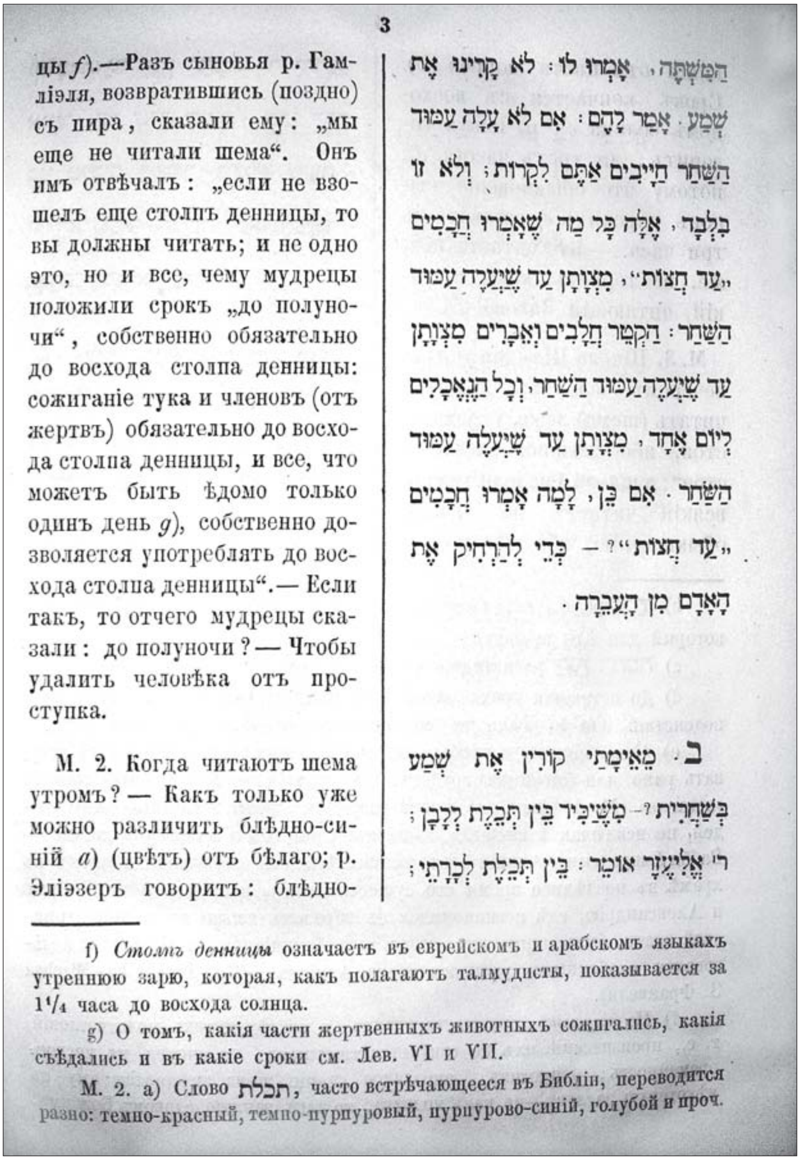
Составили

А. Воль и В. Каганъ.

ВИЛЬНА.
Печатня А. Г. Сыркина,
на Большой улицѣ, домъ Родкевичевой, возлѣ Николо-Перенесенской церкви.

1869.

Fig. 58–59. Mishna *in Russian and Hebrew, Vilnius, 1869*


3

цы *f*).—Разъ сыновья р. Гамліэля, возвратившись (поздно) съ пира, сказали ему: „мы еще не читали шема“. Онъ имъ отвѣчалъ: „если не взошелъ еще столпъ денницы, то вы должны читать; и не одно это, но и все, чему мудрецы положили срокъ „до полуночи“, собственно обязательно до восхода столпа денницы: сожиганіе тука и членовъ (отъ жертвъ) обязательно до восхода столпа денницы, и все, что можетъ быть ѣдомо только одинъ день *g*), собственно дозволяется употреблять до восхода столпа денницы“.— Если такъ, то отчего мудрецы сказали: до полуночи? — Чтобы удалить человѣка отъ проступка.

הַמִּשְׁתֶּה, אָמְרוּ לוֹ: לֹא קָרִינוּ אֶת שְׁמַע. אָמַר לָהֶם: אִם לֹא עָלָה עַמּוּד הַשַּׁחַר חַיָּיבִים אַתֶּם לִקְרוֹת; וְלֹא זוֹ בִּלְבַד, אֶלָּא כָּל מַה שֶּׁאָמְרוּ חֲכָמִים „עַד חֲצוֹת“, מִצְוָתָן עַד שֶׁיַּעֲלֶה עַמּוּד הַשַּׁחַר: הֶקְטֵר חֲלָבִים וְאֵבָרִים מִצְוָתָן עַד שֶׁיַּעֲלֶה עַמּוּד הַשַּׁחַר, וְכָל הַנֶּאֱכָלִים לְיוֹם אֶחָד, מִצְוָתָן עַד שֶׁיַּעֲלֶה עַמּוּד הַשַּׁחַר. אִם כֵּן, לָמָּה אָמְרוּ חֲכָמִים „עַד חֲצוֹת“? — כְּדֵי לְהַרְחִיק אֶת הָאָדָם מִן הָעֲבֵרָה.

М. 2. Когда читаютъ шема утромъ? — Какъ только уже можно различить блѣдно-синій *a*) (цвѣтъ) отъ бѣлаго; р. Эліэзеръ говоритъ: блѣдно-

ב. מֵאֵימָתַי קוֹרִין אֶת שְׁמַע בְּשַׁחֲרִית? — מִשֶּׁיַּכִּיר בֵּין תְּכֵלֶת לְלָבָן; ר׳ אֱלִיעֶזֶר אוֹמֵר: בֵּין תְּכֵלֶת לְכַרְתִּי;

f) *Столпъ денницы* означаетъ въ еврейскомъ и арабскомъ языкахъ утреннюю зарю, которая, какъ полагаютъ талмудисты, показывается за $1\frac{1}{4}$ часа до восхода солнца.

g) О томъ, какія части жертвенныхъ животныхъ сожигались, какія съѣдались и въ какіе сроки см. Лев. VI и VII.

М. 2. a) Слово תכלת, часто встрѣчающееся въ Библіи, переводится разно: темно-красный, темно-пурпуровый, пурпурово-синій, голубой и проч.

faith above all other confessions or to represent the Jewish nation as unique and chosen by God."[135] Iosif, Rector of the Orthodox Spiritual Seminary in Vil'na, did not take an overt stand against the printing of the prayers translated into Russian by Asher Vol', a teacher of the Vil'na Rabbinical Seminary, preferring to shift responsibility to other institutions. It is evident, however, that he did not view this experiment with favour. In Iosif's opinion, these prayers would feed an attitude of disloyalty to the Russian Empire among the Jews. [136]

Still, we may assume that the accusations of "fanaticism" and of possible nurturing of disloyal attitudes by publications of this kind were not taken seriously either by those who uttered them or by other participants in the bureaucratic decision-making process. Firstly, as it was pointed out at a meeting of the KPUE, the same prayers had been printed earlier in German with the permission of government institutions, so their translations into Russian would change nothing in this respect.[137] Secondly, Sivers, the Director of the DDDII, raised serious objections against changes of any kind in the prayers: the main purpose of printing these prayers (and other religious books, for that matter) was to further the spread of the Russian language and any interference with the contents would only dissuade the Jews from using these books.[138]

In our opinion, there were also more serious reasons leading to prolonged deliberations over the applications for permission to print Jewish religious books in Russian. These reasons were not so much connected with the concern about Jewish "fanaticism" as with the putative influence these books could have on the surrounding Christian population. That such apprehensions were indeed voiced in bureaucratic circles was reported to Katkov by one of the most consistent advocates of "Russian Catholicism," Gezen, an official of the DDDII?[139] As far back as 1862, the Committee for the Censorship of Religious Books of the Department for the Affairs of the Orthodox Church [*Komitet dlia tsenzury dukhovnykh knig Vedomstva pravoslavnogo izpovedaniia*] had withheld permission for the distribution in Russia of a Russian language edition of the Torah, printed in Berlin, arguing that in the text there were deviations from the original. Furthermore, the Committee held that

> if the edition of the Torah should be allowed to circulate among the Jews of Russia, it would be impossible to prevent its being also read by Orthodox believers for whom the inaccuracy of this translation would be a cause of perplexity, extremely harmful to those who were unable to compare the translation with the original.[140]

Some Russian bureaucrats considered that Jewish religious books made accessible in Russian would contribute to the expansion of the Sabbatarians sect [*subbotniki*].[141] In order to prevent Jewish religious books from falling into the hands of the Orthodox, it was suggested that the phrase, "for the use of Jews," should be printed on the title page.[142] Another preventive measure was the actual form of the books; for instance, the Old Testament published by Leon Mandel'shtam had the Russian text printed on one side of each page and the Hebrew original on the other.[143] To confuse such an edition with Orthodox editions was simply impossible.

A quite well-known expert on the "Jewish Question" and future chairman of the Academic Committee of the Ministry of Education, Aleksandr Georgievskii proposed an original resolution of this problem in 1866, namely to publish a Russian translation of the Bible for Jews "in the Jewish alphabet."[144] Thus it was possible to remove the fears of first and foremost members of the Holy Synod. Surely such a Bible could not have any influence over the Orthodox population. However, this proposal did not win the support even of the ORPMER Committee, which had declared the Hebrew alphabet to be incapable of recording Russian sounds. Most probably ORPMER supposed that such an innovation would not find favour even with the ruling elite, because apparently such a method would hardly be able to be considered the best way to learn Russian.

Counter-arguments of another nature were also voiced. So, for instance, the notorious Brafman, author of the *Book of the Kahal* regarded the translation of the Jewish prayerbook as useless, "as the Jews will never use it, just as they don't use them [similar prayerbooks] in other languages."[145] It seems that Brafman was not so much worried about the translations merely being a waste of effort and money as concerned lest these translations and the introduction of Russian into the Jewish liturgy in general hinder the Jews' conversion to Christianity; they would, so to speak, lend Russian-language Judaism legitimation for many years to come.[146]

Thus, although certain Russifiers wished, when introducing Russian into Jewish liturgical texts and worship, to cleanse these texts at the same time of "pernicious" ideas, the bureaucrats' main motive in this case was their aim to spread knowledge of Russian among Jews. Some civil servants, such as, for example, the afore-mentioned director of the DDDII, Sivers, even warned supporters of radical confessional engineering not to attempt to change prayers because that would not lead to the government's main aim, namely to promote use of Russian among the Jews.

But, what proved to be the most difficult issue was the introduction of Jewish religious instruction into the general education schools, particularly

into the grammar schools. As the officials of the NWP saw it, Russian was the most obvious vehicle for teaching this subject.

As we know, the Russian government endeavoured, from the early nineteenth century onward, to encourage Jewish youth to study in educational establishments offering general schooling. This was in order that at least part of the Jews would receive a "European" education rather than being shaped by the Talmudic training which, in the opinion of the authorities, was the root of Jewish "fanaticism." By the 1860s, the number of Jewish students in the general educational establishments of the NWP began to grow and with increasing frequency their parents, as well as state-appointed rabbis, submitted requests to the educational authorities for the introduction of Jewish alongside Christian religious instruction. It was often pointed out that this subject should be taught in Russian.[147] The petitioners sometimes invoked the Ministry of Education Directive of 13 January 1862, providing for the possibility of appointing teachers of the Jewish persuasion in grammar schools and district schools in the Kiev Education District if the number of Jewish pupils was not smaller than 15.[148] Jewish religious instruction was actually introduced in the grammar schools of the Kiev Education District in the first half of the 1860s.[149] In this way, the authorities hoped to attract more Jewish children to the general educational establishments.

Some officials in the NWP, however, were concerned not only about the introduction of this subject into the general educational establishments but also about its being taught in Russian. As early as November 1863, at the initiative of the Kovno Director of Schools, Ivan Shul'gin, and with the approval of VED Overseer Shirinskii-Shikhmatov, Jewish religious education in Russian was introduced in the Boys' Grammar School in Kaunas, which had 60 Jewish pupils, without awaiting a response from the Ministry of Education. For Shul'gin, this innovation seems to have been not so much an aim in itself (though, of course, the spread of the Russian language among Jewish youth was also an important aspect) but rather a basis for a similar reform of the religious instruction of other creeds – mainly, of course, Roman Catholicism.

> This circumstance may subsequently serve as an example for the teaching of the Divine Law of other creeds, and the Russian language would thereby gain an extremely wide scope of action in our region, so as gradually to oust all elements hostile to it.

But this experiment was short-lived. While not objecting to this innovation himself, the Minister of Education, Golovnin, also pointed out the necessity

of complying with the programme sanctioned by the Rabbinical Committee of the Interior Ministry [*Ravinskaia Komissiia Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del*]. According to the programme, this subject had to be taught in German. Shul'gin therefore decided to abolish Jewish religious instruction at the schools concerned altogether.[150] Evidently, the VED official decided that a school was not a place for any subject to be taught in German.

Later on, in the 1860s and early 1870s, the issue of the introduction of Jewish religious instruction in the grammar schools and in other general educational establishments was repeatedly taken up in the VED, notably by the KPUE.[151] However, early in 1869, an answer came from St Petersburg to the effect that "in view of the imminent reorganisation of Jewish schools" such permission would not be granted.[152] Permission to provide Jewish religious instruction in the secondary schools of the VED would eventually be given in 1880.[153]

The Metamorphosis in the Views of Ivan Kornilov on the Jewish Question

The motives for the refusal to introduce Jewish religious instruction in the general educational establishments of the VED and its abolition in the Kiev Education District seem to have been of a rather formal nature. We may assume, however, that there were also other reasons, which we will attempt to clarify by reconstructing the metamorphoses in the views of VED Overseer Kornilov, on the solution of the Jewish Question.

Let us return here once again to the view officials took of separate schools for Jews. By the beginning of the 1860s proposals were already being voiced to close down state Jewish schools. In 1860 Governor General Nazimov of Vil'na proposed merging state Jewish schools with gentile district and parish schools, while appointing special teachers of Jewish religion.[154] Similar thoughts were uttered by other officials.[155] By the mid-1860s, in so far as we can tell from the evidence available, imperial civil servants were often made anxious by the attitude Jews took to state schools. In this chapter we have already mentioned that many bureaucrats recognised that one of the main reasons for this was the distrust felt by Jews towards the teaching of religious subjects. There were also financial reasons for opposing the maintenance of separate schools. A special commission set up within the Interior Ministry came to the conclusion in 1863 that the candle tax which financed the state Jewish schools was too much of a burden for Jews and ought to be abolished, and if the Education Ministry would not consent to financing these schools from its own funds, they would have to be closed down.[156]



Fig. 60. *Ivan Kornilov (1811–1901)*

Nevertheless at this time, as has been noted, most civil servants favoured the continued existence of a separate system of Jewish schools. Some, albeit not all strategies for tackling the Jewish Question may also have been behind the proposals for retaining separate Jewish schools. One approach was formulated in a note from Bessonov, who was close to the Slavophiles and was for a brief period director of the Vilnius Rabbinical Seminary (February–November 1865).[157] It was he, whom VED Overseer Kornilov instructed to draft a response to the afore-mentioned Postel's' proposals.[158] Bessonov also had to react to a letter from Governor General Kaufman's colleague concerning the Engineer's School, Konstantin Bukh of Ufa.[159]

Bessonov attempted to prove that those who proposed giving up separate Jewish schools were wrong.[160] The director of the Vilnius Rabbinical Seminary developed his thoughts on this matter, basing himself on the difference between the concepts of "faithful Russian subject" and "Russian at heart." The second concept meant ethnic Russians, while the first referred to all

non-Russians, or in the terminology of the day, *inorodtsy*. The latter should be required to be faithful subjects of Russia.[161] The otherness of non-Russians, especially Jews, according to Bessonov, was not supposed to present a problem to the state.[162] These differences also require that the *inorodtsy* have separate schools, which, according to Bessonov, do not maintain "Jewish separatism" at all.[163] Even to the contrary, these schools helped the government to "break" the "once united corporation" of Jews and have on its side "a new party" among the Jews. The role of these schools boiled down to the fact that there the so-called Jewish subjects fell under the control of the authorities and children were taught general subjects too. These general subjects influenced the first block of subjects and thus Jewish religiousness became "cleansed, ennobled and uplifted."[164] Bessonov proposed not rejecting the "genial order" of former Education Minister Uvarov in the foreseeable future, because this would give rise to serious problems.[165] First of all, it was impossible to teach the so-called Jewish subjects in general schools because more time was required for studying them than was available in general schools. After graduating from general schools, Jews not only would not "draw closer to" the Russians but would also not have any influence over the Jewish masses because they would not have enough training in Jewish subjects.[166] In addition,

> the teaching of the Bible and the Old Testament is unavoidable in general Russian schools and from the Jewish point of view this would hardly benefit their immature Christian fellow pupils and therefore this could give rise to unwise arguments between the children and youths, hot-tempered opposition and justified indignation on the part of the Orthodox clergy.[167]

Such a system would lead to a situation where "fanatics and old men," "self-taught *Melamedim* and rabbis" would be involved with religious instruction once again, that is, the authorities would not be able to control Jewish religious instruction. Then the closure of separate Jewish schools would produce the threat that Jews would begin to send their children to school in Prussia and the Baltic Gubernias, which would lead to their Germanisation.[168] Thus Bessonov's motivation in favour of separate Jewish schools was, on the one hand, pragmatic (to cut Jews off from possible Germanisation), while, on the other hand, it was based on the principle of "religious toleration."

In their responses to Postel's' proposals high-ranking local civil servants also supported the idea of maintaining separate Jewish schools, but the arguments they used shows quite tangible differences in approach to the

Jewish Question, compared with Bessonov's proposals.[169] Murav'ev was the first to react to Postel's' proposals during his last days in post as governor general of Vil'na. We must pay more attention to his thoughts on this issue because they allow us the chance to get a better understanding of the problem surrounding the establishment of Jewish "people's schools," which we have already discussed in this chapter.

In Murav'ev's opinion, the aim of setting up state-run Jewish schools "was far from achieved" because these schools were attended by too few Jewish children. That is, in the governor general's opinion, the problem consisted of how to attract young Jews to state schools and thereby draw them away from the influence of "ignorant *Melamedim* fanatics." In principle Murav'ev would have favoured Jews' studying together with Christians in "people's schools" but he recognised that as yet it would be difficult to bring such an aim to fruition because of Jewish "fanaticism" and also because Christian teachers did not know Yiddish. In the first draft of a report drawn up in April 1865 the governor general of Vil'na proposed, along with a few amendments, leaving the Vilnius Rabbinical Seminary in the programme, as a "useful producer of educated instructors for Jewish children and educated rabbis;" to transform the secondary schools into special two-form Jewish "people's schools" where the lower form would be taught by a teacher, who had graduated from the Rabbinical seminary, and the second form would be taught by a Russian; teaching of Hebrew and prayers should be left to parents themselves (as in the "people's schools" for Jews established from the beginning of 1864); to support the establishment of private Jewish girls' schools; to teach Russian and artisanry in Talmud schools; to close down, or at least supervise closely *Jeshivot* with the introduction of Russian studies.[170] In St Petersburg, when the shortened version of his report was being drafted, the governor general of Vil'na pointed to one more objection to having Jewish and Christian children study together, namely because "the Jews took an active part in the aforesaid disturbances in Poland," that is, Murav'ev was afraid that the Jews might have a negative political influence on other pupils, but in the final draft this thought was struck out.[171]

VED Overseer Kornilov, basing himself on the opinion of the Overseers' Council, also thought that closing down the separate Jewish schools was a "premature" measure. It was impossible to give this system up "until knowledge of Russian spreads among the Jewish people to such an extent that a Jewish boy can go straight from home to an educational establishment, where teaching takes place only in Russian." To achieve this aim the overseer proposed making attendance at state Jewish schools compulsory for a few more years at least.[172] Kaufman, the new governor general, repeated some of

Bessonov's arguments in favour of separate Jewish schools, but in his opinion, the problem would be wrecked by the fanaticism of the poor Jewish masses, who did not trust general schools. Therefore he, like the overseer, reckoned that these schools were a "transitional measure."[173]

In these approaches we can detect in effect two different conceptions of Russification policy. Bessonov's concept did not regard the empire's multi-confessional and polyethnic nature to be a weakness and did not aim to assimilate all *inorodtsy* in the western borderlands. According to this concept, an important role in acculturating the Jews was given to separate Jewish schools, set up by the government. For some other local officials, including Kornilov and Kaufman, the best solution was to abolish all kinds of separate schools for *inorodtsy,* and only objective circumstances, primarily Jewish children's lack of knowledge of Russian, did not allow this policy to be implemented.

After a lapse of time, however, the opinion of the VED overseer underwent a radical change with regard to the needfulness of separate Jewish schools. He wrote:

> The Jewish state schools have already performed their task: they have worked and tilled the Jewish soil and contributed to the spread of the Russian language among the Jews to such an extent that at present Jewish children wishing to be educated at general schools can be enrolled right away.[174]

We are left to conclude that in the course of a few years Russian had imposed itself as the domestic language of the Jews, since their children could now be enrolled right away into the general schools, where, as is known, all subjects were taught in Russian. It is hard to believe in the sincerity of such an argumentation.[175] It should also be noted that the VED overseer was not alone in his views. From the mid-1860s proposals came to be made much more often for closing down separate Jewish schools. A similar conclusion was drawn by Education Minister Golovnin, who put forward a whole programme of amendments in the Jewish education system, including acting

> to maintain rabbinical seminaries, after proposing that the Ministry of Education introduce necessary changes in their syllabus and organisation, while the remaining Jewish state schools should be closed as the number of their pupils decreased, thereby reducing their financial requirements.[176]

Local officials of this department subscribed to similar opinions.[177] In confirmation of this state of affairs, local civil servants also indicated that the number of Jewish pupils in general schools had risen.[178]

Evidently Kornilov was not so much convinced of the successes of the Russian language among the Jewish population as concerned about the corporate spirit of Jews, nurtured, in his view, by the existence of separate schools and by the candle tax collected to provide for the needs of Jewish education.[179]

This metamorphosis, apparently, was connected with the fact that the VED administration headed by Kornilov had come to the conclusion that the "merger"-driven policy they were following had to be changed. The changes in the views of Kornilov and his fellow-minded colleagues regarding the Jewish Question can be detected in their attitudes to the graduates of rabbinical seminaries and in general the point of attracting Jews to general schools.

Brafman, whom we have already mentioned, may have helped change Kornilov's attitude towards the Jewish Question.[180] The overseer was irritated by the fact that the Vilnius *Maskilim*, though supportive of the spread of the Russian language in Jewish circles, were not willing fully to renounce their Jewishness by converting to Orthodoxy:

> The more cultivated personalities there are among a nation, the more strongly developed will its national consciousness and pride be, the more durable will its self-containedness become and the less hope is left for its merger with the dominant nation by whose strength the State was created and is held together. It is now impossible not to notice that the pupils of the Rabbinical Seminary, though supportive of the spread of the Russian language and general education among the Jews, stand firm for the Jewish national cause and do not seek to merge with the Russians; on the contrary, they may be regarded as cultivated Jewish nationalists.[181]

Only those Jews who convert to Orthodoxy, such as Brafman, were therefore trustworthy.[182]

Kornilov was not unique in his views in the NWP. Novikov developed this consideration in detail.[183] According to the VED district inspector, one of the problems was connected with the insufficient mastery of Russian among graduates of rabbinical seminaries, as Russian remained "foreign" to them. Novikov continued his explanation, saying that it was especially hard for them to master Russian phonetics. Another problem was even more

difficult. These teachers lacked the trust not only of the Jewish community because they "were shaky in their faith in the Talmud and they did not replace their doubts with anything positive," but also the authorities could not rely on them because "the question of how far they themselves were liberated from such Talmudic traits could only be answered by guesswork."[184]

Kornilov and many VED officials, as well as Koialovich were partial to a religious concept of Russianness, according to which religion was the principal attribute of nationality. Given such notions, complete assimilation of the non-Russian population could be achieved only through conversion to Orthodoxy, though in the case of the Jews even such a step might not prove a sufficient foundation for a person to be both formally and informally classified with the category of "Russians."[185] In other words, in the case of the Jews, the threshold of "rejected assimilation," that is, of the willingness of the authorities and society at large to accept this assimilation, was relatively high, especially in comparison with the Belarusians and Lithuanians.[186]

Does all this mean that Kornilov opted for the quicker way toward the "merger" of the Jews? Did he believe that the Jews, seeing that it was in their own interest to learn Russian (as was frequently pointed out by the local officials), would send their children to general schools, including primary schools, and the authorities, on their part, would do everything in their power to contribute to the Russification of the Jews? It seems to us that the answer to this question is at least non-univocal, not to say negative.

First, as far back as the second half of 1864, Kornilov himself had spoken approvingly himself about the ideas of Brafman, who suggested keeping Jewish religious instruction out of the grammar schools and leaving it in the hands of the *Melamedim*, as "expounding the Talmud without any system and with all the coarseness, muddle-headedness and obscurity proper to this absurd doctrine, [they] are considerably less dangerous than the learned Jews."[187] Similar thoughts were voiced by other VED officials: "Just leave the Jewish religion to itself and it will collapse on its own."[188] By not introducing Jewish religious instruction in the general schools, the local bureaucrats may have hoped they would encourage an attitude of indifference to Judaism in Jewish youth, which would pave the way for their conversion to Orthodoxy. But what was involved in this case was not so much "improvement" of the whole Jewish population as a "privilege" granted to a small part of the "persons of Jewish descent." The main thing is that imperial bureaucrats did not strive for mass Jewish conversions to Orthodoxy.

The general impression we get is that the VED officials were not particularly eager to see the number of Jews increase in the general schools. It is precisely in the same period that increasingly frequent proposals were

voiced to stop the assignment of scholarships permitting Jews to study in general educational establishments and to divert the means thus freed to primary education.[189] One of the motives underlying this proposal was, of course, the conviction that cultivated Jews, who had received an education at "Christian" schools, would no longer have any influence on the uncultivated Jewish masses.[190] However, on the other hand, more or less from 1866 onward, official documents expressed more and more often the idea that the authorities should be less concerned with the education of the Jews and more with that of the Russians.[191] In other words, the aim to achieve was for Russians to be better educated than Jews.[192] One of the arguments advanced by Kornilov against the conferment of equal rights on the Jews was their "huge number." This was a crucial difference opposing the Jewish Question as it presented itself in the Western Europe to the situation in the Russian Empire.[193] Repeated references to the numerical strength of the Jews and the uneducatedness of the Russians were clearly meant to suggest that the solution of the problem should be sought in the direction of segregationist policies. Moreover, the local officials were now beginning to compare the Jewish Question to the Polish one.[194] And, as known, attempts were made to reduce the numbers of Poles at the schools after the 1863–1864 Uprising. In other words, schools were intended for the Russians, or at least for "potential Russians."

However, the fate of state-run Jewish schools was resolved not in the NWP but in St Petersburg, where Tolstoi (education minister from 1866) became inclined towards the idea of abandoning the system of separate Jewish schools after inspecting Jewish schools in the Odessa Education District.[195] Admittedly, even though it declared that Jewish primary schools had "outlived their age and lived through their task, were no longer of any need to anyone, since <...> Jewish children were entering general schools instead of the afore-mentioned establishments," the Law of 16 March 1873 did not abolish the system: state Jewish schools were transformed into "Jewish primary schools," and the number of so-called Jewish subjects was reduced and the number of schools decreased. It was decided to transform rabbinical seminaries into teacher training institutes rather than schools for training state rabbis, as VED officials had suggested.[196]

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There is no straightforward answer to the question as to whether the Russification that started after the 1863–1864 Uprising was "bad for the Jews."[197] One reason for this is that many measures taken by the imperial



Fig. 61. *The Jewish Teacher Training Institute, Vilnius*

authorities (transformation of part of the state-run Jewish schools into so-called "people's schools," the compulsory schooling of Jewish boys, the teaching of the so-called Jewish subjects at Jewish schools in Russian and the corresponding publication of religious books in Russian) were not only supported but in many respects, initiated by the *Maskilim*.

Secondly, some of the measures introduced or just proposed by the local authorities were quite radical (compulsory instruction in Russian for all Jewish boys; Governor-General Kaufman's project of prohibiting publications in Yiddish) but on closer scrutiny, we see that most of the local officials did not conceive the Russification of the Jews in the same assimilatory categories as in the case of many other non-dominant national groups. In the opinion of the local authorities, the Jews, as a predominantly urban population that always acquired the "national" language of the country in which they live, were more amenable to linguistic Russification than, for instance, the Lithuanians. We may also assume that some of the local officials sincerely believed they would succeed, in a not-too-distant future, in ousting the Polish language from Jewish life and replacing Yiddish, the traditional vernacular language of the Jews, with Russian; as for Hebrew, it would remain a dead language, like Latin. Russian was also to become the "synagogal" language of the Jews. On the other hand, attempts or even

plans to exercise influence on the religiosity of the Jewish population were more cautious compared with those affecting non-dominant national groups that belonged to other "foreign confessions" (the establishment of "people's schools" where the children were instructed only in the so-called general subjects meant that their religious instruction was left in the hands of the *Melamedim*). As we know, Brafman's plans to launch missionary activities among the Jews never received any serious support from the tsarist authorities. That is why we prefer to characterise the policy of the imperial authorities with regard to the Jews as one of acculturation.

Of course, by this we do not wish to claim that in the 1860s the imperial authorities completely abandoned the policy of "positive action" with regard to Judaism. As has been noted, in the NWP Jewish state schools were not transformed totally into "people's schools" just so that the authorities would have an instrument with which to influence Jewish religiousness. At the same time certain bureaucrats strove not only to introduce Russian into Jewish liturgical literature but also to cleanse it of "pernicious" ideas, which "fanaticised" the Jewish community.

Finally, as certain metamorphoses in the views of VED Overseer Kornilov on the Jewish Question show, from the mid-1860s onward, a tendency was felt among local bureaucrats in the NWP, at least at the ideological level, to abandon the active policies aiming at "merger" of the Jews. The view was voiced more and more often that, in order to resolve the Jewish Question, one should first provide a proper level of education for the Russians themselves. In other words, the Jews would have to wait until the level of education of the Russians was improved. On the one hand, this change in the attitude of local bureaucrats towards the Jews was conditioned by a certain disappointment with the results of "merger": even the most active supporters of linguistic Russification, the graduates of rabbinical seminaries, were in no haste to abandon their Jewishness. However, most probably, the main reason for the change in the Jewish Question was the nationalisation, that is, the Russification of public and official discourses. Local bureaucrats, and to some degree St Petersburg officials too, came to think increasingly in national categories. It is not so important which concept of Russianness was selected by officials (religious or linguistic) since in both cases Jewish integration was problematic: in the opinion of the Russifiers even the *Maskilim* could not learn Russian well, especially where pronunciation was concerned; for supporters of the religious concept of Russianness Jewish integration was an even more difficult problem simply because no one had any hopes for or even strove to effect mass conversions to Orthodoxy.

Of course, not all officials in the NWP entertained such views. It would be a mistake, for instance, to class Vil'na Governor General Potapov (1868–1874), who liked to use the phrase, "Russian citizens of the Mosaic persuasion," with the Judaeophobes employed in the VED, whose opinions were voiced by Kornilov. What is important, however, is that, from the ideas that matured in the minds of the VED officials with regard to the solution of the Jewish Question, there was only one step to the segregationist policies on which the central authorities would embark from the 1880s onward.

The Introduction of Cyrillic for Writing Lithuanian

Historical studies of the introduction of the writing of Lithuanian in Cyrillic characters is probably the best example of how one event can be viewed in many different ways. On the one hand, there is the work of Lithuanian and Polish historians, while on the other we have assessments from western and Russian scholars. In part these differences arise from the various source bases researchers have used. The works of Lithuanian historians, especially those written in the Soviet Union were based usually on very solid archival material, which was much better than that available to scholars in the US or Russia. However, the differences in evaluation of Russian imperial nationality policy were determined by many more important factors, which we discussed in the introduction to this study.

Lithuanian and Polish historians usually regard the ban on the use of traditional Latin and Gothic characters, and the imposition of the Cyrillic alphabet on writing in Lithuanian as the clearest proof that the imperial authorities sought to turn the Lithuanians into Russians.[198] Sometimes this experiment is referred to by Lithuanian historians as the "ban on Lithuanian publications" *tout court*.[199] The introduction of Cyrillic is interpreted as a logical, if not inevitable move on the part of the Russian authorities to continue the policy begun in the aftermath of the Partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Thus, after Cyrillic had been introduced, a ban on traditional alphabets was bound to follow. Such a view is also prominent in Lithuanian mass historical consciousness.

At the same time western, and some Russian historians treat these actions on the part of the authorities as an attempt to cut Lithuanians off from Polish influence, or so-called depolonisation.[200] According to Miller, the authorities sought by these means to acculturate rather than assimilate the Lithuanians.

> The aim was not to turn Lithuanians into Russians but to draw them as far apart as possible from the Poles <...> It was more realistic to

> hope that after becoming accustomed to using Cyrillic, the Lithuanians would be able to learn Russian more easily, not instead of Lithuanian but alongside Lithuanian.[201] [underlining added]

On the basis of a detailed analysis of the history of the introduction of Cyrillic characters into the writing of Lithuanian, Dolbilov offers an interesting interpretation along the lines that the introduction of Cyrillic should be regarded not as an assimilatory measure but rather as social policy. In his opinion, it is doubtful whether officials imagined that they could "draw Lithuanians into the arena of Russian civilisation, if not into the Russian nation" and thinks that "for VED officials the implantation of Cyrillic into Lithuanian writing was a social process," while for higher-ranking civil servants it was a tool for "depolonisation."[202]

These differing assessments are reflected sometimes in the interpretation of certain facts. There is even disagreement as to just how many Lithuanian texts were printed in Cyrillic. The dominant view among Lithuanian historians is that very few such books were published.[203] However, Dolbilov considers that when Murav'ev was in office "mass publication of Lithuanian literature in Cyrillic" began.[204]

Scholars also dispute who was responsible for the idea of introducing such a ban. In his most definitive works Merkys, who has made the most extensive study of the ban on publishing Lithuanian texts in Latin or Gothic characters, upholds the view that Murav'ev gave an oral instruction to prohibit publications in those alphabets between 20 January and 25 March 1865.[205] Some historians doubt that such an oral instruction was ever given and associate the ban with circulars issued by Kaufman on 6 September 1865 and Interior Minister Valuev on 23 September 1865.[206] These circulars banned the publication, import and distribution of all Lithuanian texts in the Latin alphabet.

It should also be noted that scholars usually research the experiment to introduce Cyrillic and the foundation of so-called "people's schools" after the Uprising of 1863 separately (although Dolbilov is one of the few exceptions here). Lithuanian scholars have dealt with the reorganisation of the Lithuanian education system after the Uprising episodically on several occasions. They have studied the imperial authorities' projects for setting up a primary education system, the reaction of local officials to the educational projects proposed by Bishop Valančius, the decision to appoint graduates of Orthodox seminaries to so-called "people's schools" in the Kovno Gubernia and the establishment of a teacher training institution in Panevėžys.[207] We might think that by combining these two topics it would be possible to understand



Fig. 62. *Vasilii Kulin (1822–1900)*

more clearly what the imperial authorities really sought by introducing the use of Cyrillic and banning the alphabet which had been used in writing Lithuanian texts for centuries.[208]

The Origins of the Ban on the Latin Alphabet

It is easier to understand the essence of the experiment to change the alphabet, if we examine how officials regarded the writing of a specific language, in this case, Lithuanian. Even if local officials, for example, VED Overseer Shirinskii-Shikhmatov, acknowledged that written texts [*pis'mennost'*] did exist in Lithuanian and Žemaitijan, they considered this a poor show.[209] Some of the main enthusiasts for introducing Cyrillic into the writing of Lithuanian, Kovno Gubernia VED Inspector Novikov, Assistant VED Overseer Shul'gin or VED District Inspector Kulin, were not loth to stress that Lithuanian and Žemaitijan literature did not exist as such, for only a few books had been published in this language and most of those were of a religious nature.[210] Assistant of the Governor General of Vil'na Potapov also viewed the future of Lithuanian culture with pessimism.[211] Of course, we can treat the assessments of Lithuanian writing presented by supporters of the introduction of Cyrillic as tendentious documents, but Shirinskii-Shikhmatov was one of those bureaucrats who proposed strengthening Lithuanian national identity and separating Lithuanians from Poles.[212]

The idea for changing the Lithuanian alphabet occurred to more than one public campaigner or imperial civil servant. As we know, the Russian imperial authorities had discussed plans for using Cyrillic for Polish texts earlier and had forbidden the use of the Latin alphabet for Ukrainian or Belarusian texts and projects had been drafted for various ethnic groups in the Volga-Kama Region to use Russian characters.[213] Thus it comes as no surprise that ideas matured in the heads of the empire's ruling-, and intellectual elites concerning the possibility of making a similar experiment with Lithuanian writing.

It may be that the idea of introducing Cyrillic into Lithuanian texts occurred to VED officials even before Overseer Kornilov arrived in the NWP at the beginning of 1864.[214] Shul'gin claimed that it was he who approached Kornilov's predecessor, Shirinskii-Shikhmatov, with an initiative for adapting Cyrillic to Lithuanian writing.[215] In January 1864 such a proposal was put forward by Kulin in an article which reviewed a publication by Hil'ferding, namely *Certain Comments on the Lithuanian and Žemaitijan Ethnicity* [Neskol'ko zamechanii o litovskom i zhmudskom plemeni].[216] Around the same time a similar idea occurred to Kornilov, if we are to believe his memoirs, after he was appointed VED overseer but had still not left St Petersburg for his new workplace.[217] However, we cannot rule out the possibility that it was Kulin who inspired Kornilov to think of it, since the manuscript of the review in question survives in Kornilov's archive.[218] It seems that this idea developed independently in Warsaw, where Hil'ferding and above-mentioned Mikucki, were acting as advisors to the head of the civilian administration in the Kingdom of Poland, N. Miliutin. On 31 March 1864 N. Miliutin suggested to Murav'ev that 19 February 1864 Laws On Peasant Reforms in the Kingdom of Poland be published in Lithuanian, but only in Russian characters so as to "protect the Lithuanians from Polish influence."[219] Having found an ally in the person of Murav'ev, Miliutin rejoiced at the prospects of a future victory: "Russian letters will finish what the Russian sword began."[220]

The introduction of writing Lithuanian in Cyrillic organised by the authorities in Vilnius and Warsaw began with the tsar's decree of 19 February 1864 concerning peasant reforms in the Kingdom of Poland and the primer published in spring of the same year. As soon as these publications had been prepared there followed a prohibition from the governor general of Vil'na on 5 June 1864 banning all Lithuanian primers in "Polish characters" from publication and allowing them to be printed only after they had been redrafted in Cyrillic. The old primers were still not banned completely, but they could not be used in schools. On 22 August 1864 the authorities even

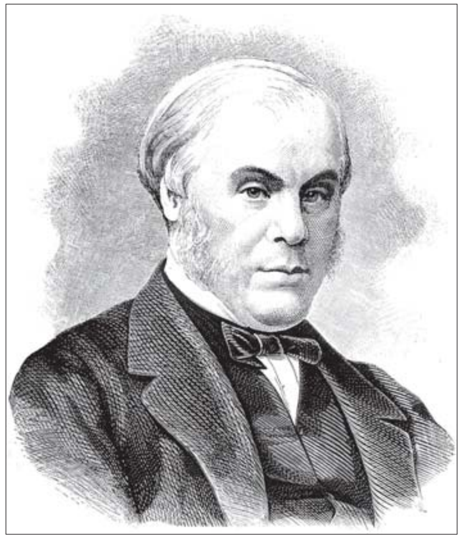


Fig. 63. *Nikolai Miliutin (1818–1872)*

sanctioned the distribution of a primer which had been published earlier, as it had been approved by the censors on 3 December 1863. The approval was valid for a year and so banning the publication would have required the authorities to pay compensation to the publisher. Later a Latvian primer was prepared in Russian characters and was distributed in the Vitebsk Gubernia, but not in the Baltic Province, where most Latvians lived. At the end of 1864 a Lithuanian calendar in Russian characters was presented to the censors for approval. From that time on the Vil'na Censorship Committee no longer approved secular Lithuanian publications. Then the local NWP authorities set about dealing with religious literature. The last Lithuanian book, or rather, bilingual publication in Polish and Lithuanian in Latin characters was approved by the censors on 20 January 1865. Later the Committee no longer received such books. By that time religious books were also being transliterated into Cyrillic.[221]

As we have noted, historians provide different answers to the question of who introduced the ban on Lithuanian publications in the Latin alphabet. Indeed it is difficult to provide a clear answer to this question, even on the basis of the considerable number of sources available to us. We may begin with the evidence of the day which connected this ban with Kaufman rather than Murav'ev.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Kornilov claimed that Kaufman rather than Murav'ev was the man who banned Lithuanian publications in

Latin characters.[222] Of course, this may be explained by a desire to rehabilitate Murav'ev, since by that time it was clear that Cyrillic had failed to take root and the authorities were already considering lifting the ban.

However, we can also find evidence from documents of the 1860s which appear to support this interpretation. First of all, we should pay attention to Murav'ev's text, which he sent to Alexander II when he left office in Vilnius on 5 April 1865. Along with other measures to be implemented in the NWP Murav'ev wrote that it was essential "to introduce Russian characters into Žemaitijan primers and prayerbooks once and for all."[223] It was this sentence which led Vėbra to deduce that Murav'ev had not banned Lithuanian publications in the traditional alphabet because only two type of publication were mentioned in this instance.[224] Indeed at that time not only Lithuanian primers and prayerbooks were being published; other types of Lithuanian literature were also being printed. Nevertheless, this sentence is not so very unambiguous. As we have seen already, Russian official and public discourse was dominated at that time by the opinion that Lithuanian and Žemaitijan literature did not exist at all, or was very meagre. Thus the mention of the more important types of publication could be the same as a reference to all literature.

Some important circumstances become more clear if we examine the drafting of certain religious books in Lithuanian in the first half of 1865. On 5 February 1865 the governor general of Vil'na had ordered the Lithuanian translation of Polish sermons by Białobrzeski and Filipecki.[225] It seems that at the time there was no order from Murav'ev to publish them in Cyrillic characters. Discussion began of what alphabet to use for this publication after translation work ended in 1868.[226] On 7 July 1865 Novikov informed Kornilov that Valančius had returned the checked (censored) proofs of his Žemaitijan *Kantičkos* [Canticles] "in Polish characters." Novikov considered it necessary to publish this book in Cyrillic characters.[227] Here we find no hint of any oral prohibition from Murav'ev. On the other hand, we cannot rule out completely the possibility that, since Novikov worked in the Kovno Gubernia, he may simply not have known about such an oral instruction.

There is also evidence from Valančius, according to which apparently, after discovering in 1864 the instruction to print Lithuanian books in Cyrillic, he received an oral promise during a meeting with Murav'ev that permission would be given for Lithuanian prayerbooks to be printed in Latin characters, but the governor general did not have time to announce this permission publicly.[228] Of course, we cannot believe Valančius alone, since he was an interested party. However, it is interesting that local officials in the NWP

made haste to check whether there really were any documents to confirm this claim. Of course, no evidence was found in the governor general's office to confirm that such a pledge had been given to Valančius.[229] However, the most important thing is that officials did not regard the existence of such a promise as being implausible and even checked their own documentation for proof.

We also find interesting evidence from documents issued by the Commission established in 1865 by Kaufman to study the Polish and Žemaitijan books which were being sold in Vilnius. In September 1865 the chairman of the Vil'na Censorship Committee, Kukolnik, explained to the Commission that at the beginning of 1865 he had asked Murav'ev whether henceforth all Lithuanian books had to be published in Cyrillic characters. The governor general had replied that "we must still wait and see. Let them carry on printing those books in Polish characters! You will receive a separate written instruction on printing in Russian characters."[230] Although in this case we cannot place blind faith in Kukolnik's claims either, for the threat had arisen that he might be accused of letting pernicious books through the system, it seemed to the Commission at least that his claims should be checked. Thus in the meeting held on 5 March 1866 it was decided to approach the new governor general, Kaufman, to ask Murav'ev, while he was in St Petersburg, whether he had indeed given such an instruction to Kukolnik.[231] Also the Commission approached the Vil'na Censorship Committee to find out when Murav'ev had issued his oral prohibition, which was mentioned by Kaufman in the 6 September 1865 Circular, but no information about such an instruction was mentioned in the response provided by Censor Aleksandr Mukhin.[232]

Thus, this documentary evidence from the 1860s raises doubts about the claim that Murav'ev gave an oral instruction early in 1865 to ban the publication of Lithuanian books in Latin characters. However, at the same time we cannot reject outright the possibility that the authors of these texts may not have known that such an oral command had indeed been given, or may even have had an interest in denying its existence. Other contemporary sources lead us to doubt the reliability of this evidence.

The claim that Murav'ev had given an oral instruction was made by local officials, for whom it was convenient to use Murav'ev's name. On 10 August 1865 Kornilov claimed in a report that there had been "an informal ban on printing books in Žemaitijan and on publishing Latvian books in the Polish alphabet."[233] Novikov said the same in his latter of 24 August 1865 to Katkov.[234] Most probably the new governor general of Vil'na, Kaufman, received this information or claim from Kornilov.[235] Nevertheless there are more serious indications that Murav'ev had indeed given an instruction to the censors not to pass Lithuanian books in Latin characters.

First of all, it's indeed likely that Murav'ev considered issuing such an instruction back in 1864. Such an hypothesis is backed by the drafting of the 5 June 1864 instruction. The first draft of this says that there should be a prohibition on publishing "works written in Polish characters" and only later was the word "works" altered to "primers."[236] Of course, we cannot rule out the possibility that this was just a slip of the tongue on the part of the governor general, although it is just as probable that he had indeed considered banning all Lithuanian texts in the Latin alphabet at that time.

It is also important that the ban on publishing certain kinds of Lithuanian books in the traditional alphabet came immediately after work began on drafting such publications in Cyrillic.[237] As has been said, at the beginning of 1865 certain religious books were transliterated into Cyrillic. After that it would have been logical for the ban on printing such books in Latin characters to be introduced. It is also important that at that very time, early in 1865, Murav'ev gave orders to review previous decisions made by the censors concerning Lithuanian books, as a result of which six books, which had been printed earlier, were withdrawn from sale. It was at that very time that the censor of Lithuanian books was replaced. The obedient Viktoras Aramavičius was replaced by an equally subservient but even more zealous Russifier, Antanas Petkevičius.[238]

It is very important that after Murav'ev became governor general, Censor Kukolnik had to show him all the Lithuanian books which had been presented to the Censorship Committee. Murav'ev's oral resolution concerning these books formed the grounds for the censor's decision.[239] As many as 37 Lithuanian books in the Latin alphabet were brought before the censors in Vilnius in 1864.[240] Between January and the autumn of 1865, as we have noted, such books no longer reached the censors. Taking into account the number of Lithuanian books in Latin characters presented to the censors for approval in 1864, it would be difficult to credit that in 1865 there were no longer any authors producing Lithuanian books or that the demand for such publications suddenly disappeared. The political situation was similar in 1864 and 1865. Therefore it is more likely that Murav'ev most probably no longer allowed such books through the system.

Admittedly, when we attempt to make Murav'ev the *fons et origo* of the ban, it is not easy to explain why the governor general issued only an oral instruction rather than formulating it in the proper bureaucratic manner. He issued no circular and did not appeal to the central authorities for a suitable decree to be issued. Perhaps there was no need to issue a written order because the censors were subjected directly to the governor general's instructions. Also we cannot rule out the possibility that Murav'ev was

irresolute and had still not been able to decide what to do with Lithuanian books. On the other hand, when considering all these possibilities, we should not forget one important fact, namely that for Murav'ev, like all other governors general in the second half of the nineteenth century the Lithuanian issue was not a priority, or even a matter of importance. As Novikov wrote, "the Count [Murav'ev] did not take much notice of the Žemaitijans and Lithuanians."[241]

Thus, as of January 1865 Murav'ev no longer allowed Lithuanian books to be published in the Latin alphabet, and in September of the same year the new governor general, Kaufman, and Interior Minister Valuev formulated this prohibition in official decrees. The ban on publishing Lithuanian texts in the traditional alphabet remained in force until 1904.

Now we will attempt to answer a more complex question than that of who thought up or introduced the use of Cyrillic for Lithuanian texts, namely what was the authorities' aim in changing the alphabet used for writing Lithuanian.

The Introduction of Cyrillic as Lithuanian Acculturation

As has been said many times the most important ideologist promoting the use of Cyrillic for recording Lithuanian and other languages was N. Miliutin's aide in implementing education reforms in the Kingdom of Poland, Hil'ferding. He not only promoted his ideas in the press but also he had a real chance to implement them in practice.

According to Hil'ferding, the Russians had to pay attention to the Lithuanians also because the Lithuanian language was very close to Slavonic and at one time the Lithuanians and the Slavs had been members of the same tribe; because Lithuanian remained more archaic than the Slavonic languages it was very important for Slavonic linguistics. Hil'ferding not only spoke out in favour of changing the alphabet but also proposed other measures to help depolonise the Lithuanians. The famous Slavonicist's aim was to transform the Lithuanian masses into loyal Russian subjects ("for there to be no Lithuanian separatism," "it is necessary for Lithuanians to become educated without becoming Poles") and to this end it was necessary to foster their national consciousness, since

> Polish propaganda <...> was only able to inculcate Lithuanians with Polish ideas and arm them in the fight for Polish matters because of the insufficient development of the Lithuanian nation and their lack of national consciousness.

In order to prevent the repetition of such a state of affairs it was necessary to teach primary-school children in Lithuanian, teach the language as a subject in secondary schools, and establish departments of Lithuanian in universities. Furthermore, the notorious Slavophile explained constantly that primary education in Russian would be "completely unnatural and unfeasible." "It is obvious," Hil'ferding wrote, "that the language of primary education must be Lithuanian, while Russian should be one of the subjects, which boys should learn."[242]

Admittedly, Hil'ferding's programme is not so unambiguous. He campaigned very heatedly for Russia to follow the German lead and set about researching the Lithuanians. He also wrote about the Lithuanians in Prussia, where the "Lithuanian element has reached the state of an obsolescent nationality. The Lithuanians are learning German and gradually they are forgetting their own language and merging with the Germans."[243] In other words, we can read the following message between the lines: let us deal with the Lithuanian problem, let us research it, implement the proposed programme and then we will achieve the same results as Prussia. Thus the programme of the famous and influential Slavophile, whose influence on various projects in 1862–1863, based on the principle of a policy of "divide and rule," which we have discussed in previous chapter, had several aims.[244] On the one hand, it sought to acculturate the Lithuanians and foster their national (or rather, ethno-cultural), but not their political consciousness, while, on the other hand, it appears to say that if the imperial authorities set about implementing such a policy, they would soon achieve the assimilation of the Lithuanians.

We find echoes of a policy to acculturate the Lithuanians in many other instances, when the point of introducing the use of Cyrillic for Lithuanian and the ways this could be achieved were being discussed in the aftermath of the 1863–1864 Uprising. Although we cannot rely uncritically on the official or even private declarations of various Russian officials, we can take these as our starting-point.

Justifying the need to ban the publication of Lithuanian texts in the Latin alphabet, Governor General Kaufman claimed that introducing Cyrillic would help "release the ordinary masses from Polonisation, enlighten them, make them completely literate, and teach them to write in their own ethnic dialects and the Russian language."[245] This thought was repeated in Interior Minister Valuev's circular, which confirmed Kaufman's measures, which were aimed at introducing the use of Cyrillic.[246] Thus the introduction of Cyrillic into writing Lithuanian was not only intended to ease the learning of Russian but also to teach local people to write in their "local dialects." In Kaufman's case such an announcement may have been more of a pure declaration. Thus we

cannot draw any conclusions from such declarations. It may be that in this case the governor general was writing not so much what he thought himself as what was supposed to suit the interior minister's policy.

Certain zealots in favour of introducing Cyrillic did not consider at all that this measure would ruin the Lithuanian language. For example, a former ethnic-Lithuanian Catholic priest, who converted to Orthodoxy in 1844 and became a minister of that Church, the then censor of Lithuanian books, Petkevičius, imagined that a standard Žemaitijan-Lithuanian language should be formed concomitantly with the introduction of Cyrillic.[247] Because each district in the Kovno Gubernia had a different dialect, Petkevičius considered that two or three people, who knew the language well, should be selected from each district. These would form a committee to draft a grammar according to a programme devised by VED officials, and later a primer and concise and extensive dictionaries.[248] In other words, the introduction of Cyrillic was supposed to mean the standardisation of the language too.

Not only Hil'ferding but also certain of his followers thought that Lithuanian, despite being published in Cyrillic, could be institutionalised in educational establishments. Thus at the end of 1868 Mikucki proposed

> introducing the study of the Lithuanian language in secondary schools in the Kovno Gubernia and the Lithuanian Orthodox Spiritual Academy in Vilnius, and spreading firm knowledge of elementary Lithuanian among the Lithuanian masses.[249]

In other words, it seemed to him that Cyrillic ought not to hinder the spread of Lithuanian literacy. The reaction of Lithuanian Orthodox Archbishop Makarii to these proposals confirms the view that Lithuanian writing, according to the concept then prevailing in Russian discourse, could spread successfully even when printed in Cyrillic. Makarii even asked "must we Russians alone work not for the Russification of Lithuanians but to preserve and perfect their language, create a grammar and dictionaries for their language and abet their national survival?"[250] On the other hand, Mikucki offered his services to the leaders of the VED to draft Orthodox religious books in Lithuanian in Russian letters and a Lithuanian-Russian dictionary, so that the Orthodox clergy might operate with more success in Lithuanian areas.[251]

What such campaigners as Mikucki or Petkevičius said about the use of Cyrillic for writing Lithuanian should be treated cautiously. Being, to all intents and purposes, the implementers of various nationality policy measures, it is likely they adapted themselves to the situation at hand and often, especially in Mikucki's case, sought the greatest material advantage



Fig. 64. *Jonas Juška (1815–1886)*

for themselves, because they had trouble making ends meet. Thus, the proposals for using Cyrillic for Latvian effectively echoed Hil'ferding's article on policy towards Lithuanian. In this case their deliberations about using the Russian alphabet for writing Lithuanian are important not in so far as they were the result of independent thought, as evidence that the Cyrillicisation of Lithuanian, as justified ideologically by Hil'ferding, was open to interpretation by contemporaries as acculturation.

This intention to change the alphabet may have pleased educated Lithuanians too. In this case they were not unique. Some Latvian intellectuals sought to reduce the influence of the Baltic Germans by proposing a "return" to Cyrillic.[252] The idea that Lithuanians ought to replace the Latin alphabet with Cyrillic arose much earlier than the 1863–1864 Uprising.

It is interesting that some educated Lithuanians regarded this experiment positively. For example, the first to raise the idea in 1859, Andrius Ugianskis, worked in Kazan' (from 1851 as Greek master in the grammar school and from 1861 as university professor), where Il'minskii also happened to be becoming active.[253] The mass conversion of certain national groups to Islam was taking place there and this forced the authorities to look for ways to counter this. In order to counterbalance Islamisation and Pan-Turkism the famous missionary and orientalist, Il'minskii, began to organise the publication of texts for certain Volga ethnic groups in Cyrillic. In other words, the creation of writing in local languages in Cyrillic characters was supposed to strengthen their identity

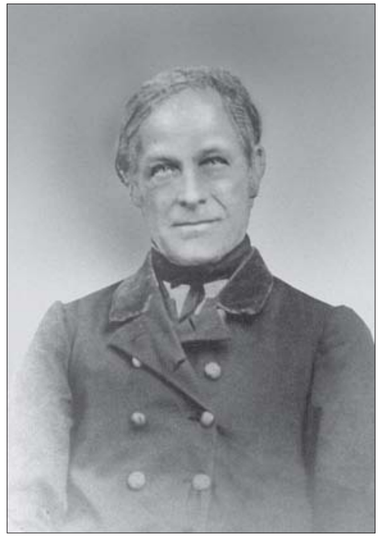


Fig. 65. *Laurynas Ivinskis (1810–1881)*

and protect them from the Tatar assimilation project. This programme, which came to be known as the "Il'minskii System," was begun in 1858, that is, a year earlier than Ugianskis formulated his proposal. According to Vincas Maciūnas, who has studied the Lithuanian National Movement in the first half of the nineteenth century, Ugianskis was just as much a Lithuanian patriot in the same mould as Simonas Daukantas, who wrote the first history of Lithuania in Lithuanian; both were united by respect for the language and history of the Lithuanians, and hatred for Poles. Mostly on the basis of Ugianskis' letters to Valančius, Maciūnas even goes so far as to call him a "modern Lithuanian" and a predecessor of the underground Lithuanian newspaper, *Aušra*, which consolidated the Lithuanian National Movement.[254] It should be noted that Jonas Juška, with whom Kornilov discussed the feasibility of using Cyrillic for printing Lithuanian at the beginning of 1864, and who set about adapting the alphabet for that purpose, also worked in Kazan' from 1862 in the military department's school.[255] Attention must also be drawn to the fact that as early as the mid-nineteenth century the Juška brothers, Antanas and Jonas, proposed introducing new letters with diacritics into the Lithuanian alphabet. Scholars have explained these experiments as attempts by the Juškas to simplify the alphabet for the "sake of economy," that is, to record the same phonemes with a smaller number of letters.[256] However, here it would perhaps be worth asking whether this experiment was not encouraged by the striving to distance Lithuanians from Poles.





Fig. 66. *A Lithuanian primer printed in Cyrillic with diacritics*

We have no direct evidence that Ugianskis or later, J. Juška, knew Il'minskii or even the education system he was creating, but such a probability does exist. At that time Kazan' was not a large city and those working in education must have known one another. We may suspect that both Ugianskis and Juška thought that the "Il'minskii System" was quite suitable for Lithuanians too as an anti-Polish measure and so they were not only not afraid of the experiment, but also sought to take part in it themselves.

There were more educated Lithuanians who contributed, or at least wished to contribute to the spread of this experiment.[257] Admittedly, some of them, like the publisher of Lithuanian calendars, Laurynas Ivinskis, did this not so much of their own volition as at the demand of the authorities. At first even Bishop Valančius did not oppose the Cyrillicisation of written Lithuanian.

It comes therefore as no surprise that during the first stage in the Cyrillicisation of written Lithuanian, which the language historian Giedrius Subačius calls the "enthusiastic beginning" (1864–1866), that Russians were not the only ones to take part. Ivinskis, Mikucki, and a student from the Warsaw General School, named Tomas Žilinskis, tried to create a new Lithuanian alphabet in order to express Lithuanian sounds better and thus we could indeed call their work an attempt to create a "*Lithuanian* Cyrillic for Lithuanian." To this end they not only introduced several new letters, which were not typical of Russian Cyrillic such as <ô> to represent the [uo] dipthong and <ў> for the [au] dipthong, and an apostrophe to mark the shortening of a vowel or separate the prefix from the subsequent vowel of the root. They also threw out certain Russian letters which they regarded as useless, such as <ы>, <ф>, <ъ>.[258] At first the adaptation of the Russian alphabet did not cause problems for VED Overseer Kornilov.[259]

Evidence that the hopes of those educated Lithuanians, who took part in the process of rewriting Lithuanian in Cyrillic, that written Lithuanian could develop with the new letters along with Lithuanian folk culture, were not completely vain is provided by imperial education policy in the Kingdom of Poland and, specifically, in the Avgustovo Gubernia, where, Lithuanians lived. There N. Miliutin formulated the main outlines for education reform in a report submitted to the tsar on 22 May 1864. He proposed abandoning the thought that schools could serve policy aims, that is, that the elimination of Polonicity (primarily teaching in Polish) from schools would lead to a successful Russification of the Poles. According to N. Miliutin, the seeking of political aims in the education system after the 1830–1831 Uprising had not borne any fruit and so now priority should be given in this area to other principles. His basic proposals may be summed up as follows: allowing Poles to study in Polish in schools at all levels, while barring the way for other

ethno-cultural groups within the Kingdom to become Polonised. Such aims could be achieved by establishing schools where teaching would be carried out in the local language, including Lithuanian. Special teacher training colleges should be set up to train teachers to work in such primary schools. The main official drafting the education reforms, and N. Miliutin's chief aide in this matter was none other than Hil'ferding.[260] He drafted two documents, namely *On Administering Schools in the Kingdom of Poland*, and *On Primary Schools in the Kingdom of Poland*. The Committee for the affairs of the Kingdom of Poland approved these projects, the tsar confirmed them and they became law. According to this legislation, non-Poles in the Kingdom of Poland could set up separate primary schools. If for some reason it proved impossible to establish separate schools, it was possible to demand a "separate teacher for religion or native language."

However, from the mid-1860s this policy came to be abandoned. Admittedly, the changes began in primary schools somewhat later. In 1867 the tsar commanded Russian to be introduced as a compulsory subject in all schools in the Kingdom and from 1872–1873 teaching in Russian became the norm. In 1866 the Russification of grammar schools began. As the reform of secondary education in the Kingdom of Poland got under way the grammar schools in Suvalki and Marijampolė were affected. On 14 May 1866 the Foundation Committee in the Kingdom discussed a project to reorganise secondary schools.[261] Among other projects there was one to reorganise the two grammar schools mentioned above.

> The Foundation Committee intends introducing Lithuanian as a subject of study in the grammar schools in Suvalki and Marijampolė for those who wish to learn it, and these schools should be adapted in general to the needs of the local Lithuanian population.[262]

At the tsar's command the Foundation Committee's proposals were discussed by the Committee for the Affairs of the Kingdom of Poland in St Petersburg on 22 July that year. The Polish Affairs Committee approved the reorganisation of the said grammar schools and proposed establishing

> at least ten scholarships in Russian universities, primarily those of St Petersburg and Moscow, for pupils of Lithuanian descent from the grammar schools in Suvalki and Marijampolė, who know Russian and Lithuanian particularly well and are training for future academic or teaching activities.

In addition it provided for an annual scholarship of 360 rubles and travel expenses. Holders of these scholarships were to be chosen by the teachers' council in those grammar schools and confirmed by the head of the Schools' Directorate.[263] After this, when the tsar gave his blessing to school reforms in the Kingdom of Poland, this was placed once more on the agenda of the Foundation Committee on 13 August 1866. The latter committee effectively repeated the resolution of the Polish Affairs Committee concerning the reform of the grammar schools in Suvalki and Marijampolė, and the "Lithuanian scholarships," specifying that ten scholarships were to be awarded.[264]

The creation of these scholarships, of course, was connected first and foremost with the activities of Hil'ferding, but we should not rule out the possibility that other zealots of the introduction of Cyrillic into written Lithuanian were also involved.[265] Some of them, like Mikucki, not only urged Hil'ferding but also another influential Slavophile, Vladimir Lamanskii, to take pains to attract Lithuanians and Latvians to the Institute of History and Philology in St Petersburg.[266]

Thus, in the Kingdom of Poland, after the traditional Latin alphabet had been prohibited and Cyrillic had been imposed by force, Lithuanian was taught not only in primary schools but also in grammar schools and the teacher training college, and special scholarships were awarded for Lithuanians to attend university. This confirms once more the claim that the introduction of Cyrillic for written Lithuanian not only could have been, but really was connected with the acculturation of Lithuanians and the restricted fostering of their ethnic culture, while at the same time increasing the influence of Russian culture.[267]

However, this nationality policy was implemented only in the Kingdom of Poland. As we have noted, the imperial ruling-, and intellectual elites regarded the NWP as Russian national territory, not just a part of the empire, and so a different policy had to be followed there.

The Foundation of "People's Schools" in the Kovno Gubernia

The role of Lithuanian written in Cyrillic in the NWP becomes clearer after examining the reforms to reorganise education here in the aftermath of the 1863–1864 Uprising. However, first let us take a look at the place of Lithuanian in educational establishments in the earlier period.

After the 1830–1831 Uprising the imperial authorities attempted to take control of peasant education and so they tried to appoint non-local Orthodox persons as teachers. In state-funded parish schools teaching posts were supposed to be filled by graduates of the recently founded Vitebsk Teacher

Training Institution and from 1843 priority was given in certain schools run by the State Property Ministry to those, who had studied in Orthodox seminaries.[268] Throughout the period between the Uprisings officials discussed whether these teachers of non-local origin ought to learn Lithuanian. It seemed to some bureaucrats to be essential that teachers spoke the language of their pupils both so that parents would be willing to send their offspring to such schools, and also for didactic reasons.[269] However, in practice the teachers in the Vil'na and Kovno Gubernias, according to Meilė Lukšienė, were appointees, who did not speak Lithuanian, even though religion was taught everywhere in either Lithuanian or Polish.[270] The situation in parish schools was different. From 1841 after the establishment of schools in Catholic parishes in the Diocese of Žemaitija was permitted, the language of instruction there was Lithuanian.[271]

Unrest in the western borderlands of the empire in the early 1860s forced the authorities to take swift action to reduce the influence of the gentry over the ordinary people. Therefore on 18 January 1862 the tsar decreed that "people's schools" be established speedily in the western gubernias, and, early in 1863 a decision was taken to draft special provisional statutes for such schools. After intensive discussion the Provisional Regulations for "People's Schools" in the NWP (henceforth – Provisional Regulations) were drafted (23 March 1863), which ordered that Russian be the language of instruction and only Catholic religious teaching could be carried out in the "local dialect." At that time local officials in the NWP had no doubt that Lithuanian pupils should be taught in Lithuanian.

During the age of the so-called "Great Reforms," especially as a result of the Emancipation of the Serfs in the greater part of the empire, popular education became a very relevant issue not just in the western borderlands. Until that time there had been almost no special institutions in Russia to train primary-school teachers. Various proposals emerged during discussions, for example, to establish special courses in grammar schools, but a more expensive option was taken, namely to arrange separate training colleges for teachers. The Education Ministry decided that teachers should be of the same class as their pupils, with villagers as village teachers and townsfolk working as teachers in urban areas, while the training colleges should be set up in small district towns or villages, rather than gubernia centres, where "college trainees may become unaccustomed to their usual native environment and become acquainted with such demands in life, which it would be impossible or even undesirable to meet in villages."[272] To put it more plainly, it was thought that only a person, who would be close to the



Fig. 67. *Molodechno Teacher Training College*

common people because of his social origin, way of life and expectations, could be a teacher in such schools.

At the beginning of February 1863 Nazimov proposed that Catholic priests should in no way be allowed to teach Lithuanians and Žemaitijans and that this should be done by Russians, who could speak Lithuanian and Žemaitijan, while a special training college should train them.[273] It seems that such a training establishment was to be built in Joniškėlis.[274] Shortly afterwards this idea was continued by VED Overseer Shirinskii-Shikhmatov, noting that in effect two ethnic groups, which differed significantly in language, religion and history inhabited the Vil'na, Kovno, Grodno and Minsk Gubernias, namely the Žemaitijans and Belarusians and so their teachers ought to be trained separately:

> the teacher training colleges which are being established to train teachers for Belarusian people's schools must imbue students with a sense of Orthodoxy and Russian nationhood [*russkaia narodnost'*] along with their direct training, while in the Žemaitijan college the Orthodox element will not be important at all [*ostanetsia sovershenno bez primeneniia*], as such broad influence cannot be given to the Russian element.

Thus Shirinskii-Shikhmatov proposed setting up a "teachers' institute" in Molodechno (Vil'na Gubernia) to train teachers for Belarusian schools and establishing a pedagogical department in the Ponevezh Grammar School to carry out the same function with regard to Lithuanian schools.[275] Preparations began to follow in this direction. Soon two projects were drafted, namely to set up a Belarusian Teachers' Institute, later to be called the Molodechno Teacher Training College, to train teachers for the whole of the VED, except those working in Lithuanian schools; and the project for a pedagogical department at Ponevezh Grammar School. Only Orthodox, and chiefly peasant candidates were to be admitted to the former, while trainees in the Ponevezh department were selected from "persons of Žemaitijan descent," who *inter alia* "could speak and read Žemaitijan." However, in the second half of 1863 a plan for the Molodechno Teacher Training College was being discussed, which made provision for this institution to train teachers for all VED "people's schools" and the Ponevezh courses were not mentioned at all.[276] These decisions were taken with the knowledge of the new governor general, Murav'ev.

Later the decision not to set up a pedagogical department within the Ponevezh Grammar School was explained by lack of funding.[277] However, it is probable that local officials themselves had not resolved clearly how to train teachers for Lithuanian schools. In April 1862 Shirinskii-Shikhmatov had put forward an idea for training teachers for such schools in the Orthodox seminaries in Vilnius and Minsk, where special Žemaitijan language courses would be arranged.[278] A similar thought was aired early in 1864, when it was proposed holding temporary teacher training courses in those two seminaries.[279] In this case the Orthodox seminaries were more suitable since, as the VED overseer understood matters, grammar schools in gubernia centres were unable to guarantee that future teachers would take on "Russian ideas" sufficiently well, or, in other words, the grammar schools were still regarded as being Polish. In addition, the decision not to train teachers for Lithuanian schools separately was influenced by the above-mentioned Provisional Regulations, which said that all lessons, apart from religious instruction, were to be taught in Russian.

As we know, the so-called "people's schools" were established first in Belarusian areas. The VED leadership set about establishing these schools in the Kovno Gubernia later, in spring 1864. These schools were to be administered by a schools' directorate in Panevėžys in the geographical centre of the gubernia.[280] However, since the schools' council was supposed to include various officials, who worked in the gubernia centre, the directorate

was transferred to Kaunas for the sake of convenience.[281] The determination to set about reorganising primary school education in the Kovno Gubernia was fostered by several factors, such as the appointment of Kornilov as the new VED overseer in February 1864, the suppression of the Uprising and the plans for primary education put forward by Valančius in early 1864, most probably in February of that year. He proposed establishing a Junior Seminary, having religion taught in state schools, and founding parish schools.

The Junior Seminary was supposed to train its pupils to become members of the clergy and so it had to be under episcopal control and the main subjects were to be taught in Lithuanian. Religion in state-funded parish schools was also to be taught in Lithuanian, while teachers not only had to speak this language but also teach it to their pupils. The last of the above-mentioned projects also mentioned the reopening of parish schools which had functioned earlier and which had been closed down as a result of Nazimov's 23 December 1863 instruction, although formally this had supposed to have been applied only to schools where teaching was done in Polish.[282] In these schools pupils were to learn to read Russian and Lithuanian, and church servants were supposed to be their teachers.[283]

Such intentions on Valančius's part could not please the VED authorities and the Orthodox bishop of Kovno, Aleksandr, whom VED Overseer Kornilov had approached. VED Inspector Kulin saw no need to set up a Junior Seminary, where the teaching process would be controlled by the Catholic clergy and teaching would take place in Žemaitijan. It seems he was not entirely sure that the project would be rejected and so to cover himself he warned that if the seminary were allowed to be set up, all subjects were to be taught in Russian and Russians should be employed as teachers. Bishop Aleksandr reacted in a similar way to this proposal. The opinions of both "experts" coincided also where parish schools were concerned, which were thought to be non-beneficial because they would be controlled by priests, and Lithuanian would dominate rather than Russian. Kulin's reaction to Valančius' proposals with regard to state-funded schools at first sight were positive ("in general I do not have anything against the final proposal"). He seemed not to oppose not only the fact that religion would be taught in Lithuanian but also that Lithuanian would be a separate subject on the curriculum. "Let Žemaitijan be taught in schools and let religion be taught in Žemaitijan so long as the school is not exclusively Žemaitijan in character," but at the same time Kulin proposed giving Lithuanian a different status: "the Žemaitijan language is needed most in schools in the first stage, when teachers explain the meaning of words until the pupils became accustomed to the Russian language." The last quotation shows that the VED inspector

was still proposing that Lithuanian have only auxiliary status in primary schools. Summing up the opinions of these two experts, on 3 May 1864 the new VED overseer deemed Valančius' proposals to be pernicious first of all because the main reason why peasants in the Kovno Gubernia were disloyal lay in the unrestrained influence of the clergy. Thus "people's schools" were to be taken out of the hands of Catholic priests and so-called "people's schools" were to be set up in the Kovno Gubernia, as in the rest of the VED.[284] Soon afterwards, on 9 May 1864 Kornilov referred to Valančius' proposals once again as being very dangerous and once more he proposed taking popular education into the authorities' hands.[285]

Thus in the summer of 1864 preparations began on setting up "people's schools" in the Kovno Gubernia. These schools had to find teachers. Catholic clergy or church servants (such as sacristans) were regarded as being dangerous, as we can see from the reaction of the VED authorities to Valančius' projects. Murav'ev's instruction for establishing "people's schools" said that "wherever possible" [*naskol'ko eto okazhetsia primenitel'nym*] the Provisional Regulations should be followed and only people "of non-Polish descent" were to be appointed teachers in Lithuanian areas, and so theoretically at least Lithuanians could take up such posts. It seems that certain local officials did interpret the instruction in this way. Thus in February 1864 it was reported from the Vil'komir District that there were no primary schools there because there were no "teachers of non-Polish descent."[286] We should also pay attention to the clause in Murav'ev's instruction recommending that the Provisional Regulations be followed "wherever possible." It may be that in this case the governor general was not ruling out the possibility of teaching children Lithuanian, something he had permitted in his circular of 1 January 1864. However, Kornilov ordered a check on the meaning of the instruction, since teaching posts were open only to "trusted persons of the Orthodox Faith, knowing the Russian and Lithuanian languages," and, what is more, he had his officials find out where purely Russian schools could be set up and in which areas it would be impossible to function without the Lithuanian language.[287] In other words, at that time the authorities were seeking to found purely Russian schools and some form of toleration for Lithuanian in primary schools was viewed only as acceptable where it was unavoidable.

Thus we are drawn to suppose that Murav'ev sought to drive Polish teachers out of schools and may have tolerated Lithuanian teachers, while Kornilov and many other VED officials regarded religious affiliation as the most important criterion for ensuring the loyalty of teachers.[288] Thus, as Catholics, Lithuanians were also unsuitable as teachers.[289]

Learning in these schools, according to Murav'ev, was supposed to begin at the beginning of the next academic year, or, as Kornilov wrote to Novikov, in August 1864.[290] In June 1864 Kornilov instructed two inspectors of grammar schools, Dmitrii Kashirin and Sergei Popov, to travel around the Kovno Gubernia and make proposals as to where "people's schools" might be set up.[291] Moreover, Murav'ev decided that a special inspector was required here because the "Žemaitijan ethnicity [*plemia*]" should be "protected" from the influence of the Catholic clergy and Polish propaganda.[292] Kornilov selected above-mentioned Novikov, a graduate of Moscow University's Faculty of History and Philology, who was working at the time as inspector of the Moscow Synodal Press, to fill this post. Novikov had worked in close collaboration with both the Slavophiles and Katkov.[293] He arrived in Kaunas on 13 August 1864 and began to administer the establishment of "people's schools."

Popov, who was to travel around the Shavli, Tel'shi and Ponevezh Districts, proposed as an exceptional measure to allow Catholic teachers to remain in post under the supervision, of course, of an Orthodox senior teacher.[294] Even so, Kornilov and Novikov resolved firmly that only Russians could be teachers and this position was maintained.[295]

After it had been decided to replace Catholic teachers with Orthodox ones, it was necessary, as the VED overseer had instructed, to look for future teachers, who were not only Orthodox but also could speak, or would wish to learn how to speak Lithuanian. Certain VED officials, it seems, really did intend to find or train such teachers. The headmaster of the Kovno Grammar School and assistant VED overseer, Shul'gin, reported on 7 July 1864 to Kornilov that he had already found seven Orthodox boys who were prepared to learn Žemaitijan.[296] The same month Murav'ev reported to Education Minister Golovnin that he had candidate teachers, who "spoke both Russian and Lithuanian."[297]

However, such a seemingly natural resolution of the problem, whereby teachers and pupils could converse with one another, needed time and money. The VED officials thought that both of these commodities were in short supply.[298] Therefore, after "consulting" local Orthodox clergy in Kaunas, Novikov proposed that candidates who "did not speak the local dialect" be appointed to teach. This proposal was based on the fact the male peasants understood Russian just as well as Polish, and so Russian could not "be completely unheard of" for their children.[299] However, Kashirin admits in his reports that most peasants did not understand Russian.[300] So that no one would have any doubt that there was no other way to resolve the matter, Novikov reported once more that he had managed to find five potential

teachers, who knew both Russian and Žemaitijan, but their abilities had not been assessed as yet and at least 100 Orthodox teachers would be required for the whole of the gubernia.[301] In autumn 1864 VED Overseer Kornilov was of the opinion that there was no way of finding teachers who could speak Lithuanian.[302] Therefore officials proposed transferring teachers from elsewhere in the VED to the Kovno Gubernia.[303] This proposal, it seems, was not even considered seriously, as the authorities were not prepared to consolidate Russian primary education in the Kovno Gubernia at the expense of other gubernias. Novikov deliberated once more the possibility of setting up a special school to teach Russians the local languages and train not only teachers for "people's schools" but also people to take up posts as rural-district scribes and district officers.[304] However, this idea was not discussed in greater detail, apparently for the reason that speed was required.

A decision was taken to employ graduates of Orthodox seminaries from the internal guberias of the empire in the "people's schools" which were now being founded.[305] In 1864 alone 39 such potential teachers came, followed by 97 in 1865, mostly from the Vologda Seminary.[306] Why exactly were the graduates of these schools selected?

First of all, we should remember that the authorities did not have a great deal of choice. Teacher training colleges were only just beginning to be established (except in the Baltic Gubernias) and there was a shortage of teachers elsewhere. The selection of graduates from Orthodox establishments seemed to guarantee that they had been educated in a Russian way and an Orthodox spirit. This aspect of their outlook, according to VED officials, was much more important than the seminarists' teaching abilities. It was thought that seminary graduates would be socially close to their pupils and would not look down on them. Moreover, it was hoped that their birth in village priest families would lead them to accept the meagre wages on offer (150 rubles) and help them meet the arduous tests facing them in an unfriendly environment.[307] In other words, they would not raise too many demands for living conditions. We may recall that it was this aspect, that is, the similarity between the way of life of teachers and the taught and the closness of their social concerns, which was a very important factor when the type and location of teacher training establishments were being discussed. This hypothesis may be confirmed by correspondence from 1867, dealing with the possibility of employing graduates of the Riga Orthodox Seminary as teachers in "people's schools" in the Kovno Gubernia. Novikov was inclined to agree that these trainees should work in such schools attended by Latvians, but trainees from the so-called interior gubernias would suit the Lithuanians

better because “the Rigans may not know Russian songs” and “they stand out with their external glitter and big-city ways, and so they would be more interested in meeting the gentry and small landowners,” while those from the internal gubernias were different: “their way of life is more simple; they are closer to the common people and hence less demanding and more resilient,” and they “will bring with them the simple ways of their Russian village clergy.”[308]

However, in this case we should note the context of the empire as a whole. First of all, the reformers like Interior Minister Valuev considered that the authority of the Orthodox clergy could be improved among the masses by increasing the role of the clergy in popular education.[309] On the other hand, because of what was in effect a caste system, the sons of Orthodox clerics could not move into another class and this meant there was “over-production” of members of their social stratum. Moreover, if certain sources are to be credited, for example, 1862 data, of 97 entrants to the Pinsk Orthodox Seminary, only six graduated.[310] Finally the fierce struggle, which had been going on for several years between the Education Ministry and the Orthodox Church over who was to control primary education, is an important factor in this context. The Holy Synod opposed attempts by the ministry to bring all schools under its control.[311] In 1864 the result of this struggle was still unclear and the question of which institution would train future teachers remained unresolved. In this fight the Orthodox Church enjoyed the support not only of Aksakov’s *Den’* newspaper but also Katkov’s *Moskovskie vedomosti*. These publications exerted an influence over VED officials too, and certain of them, as is well known, corresponded with these influential campaigners. In other words, through their actions in the Kovno Gubernia VED officials attempted to tip the balance in arguments over who would be most suitable to run primary education in favour of the Orthodox clergy.

Having resolved that graduates from Orthodox seminaries would make the best teachers for Lithuanians, it remained to decide whether to look for suitable candidates in the Western Province or Central Russia. Priority was granted to seminarians from the Russian gubernias. Apparently there was less choice on offer in the Western Province and selection was determined also by other factors. According to Novikov, seminarians who came in from the central gubernias of the empire spoke Russian more correctly than local Russians because “a mixture can be heard of words and forms from all the local languages in the local Russian language.”[312] Thus only newcomers from the central gubernias could teach local people correct Russian.

Seminarians who came to the Kovno Gubernia were supervised first and foremost by the director of “people’s schools,” who together with VED

officials had to train the future teachers; their lessons were attended by inspectors and a few months later trial lessons were held before they were appointed as teachers.[313] During this period they were not taught Lithuanian, it seems, unless they studied it by themselves from books provided by VED officials.[314] Novikov considered that this problem could be resolved in school: the teacher would teach his pupils Russian words, while the latter would teach him Žemaitijan ones.

> In this way without too much effort and almost by joking the children will gradually become accustomed to their teacher, there will be no alienation and in after-school hours they will attend school even against their parents' wishes and be prepared to spend the whole day with their teacher.[315]

Thus Novikov and his fellow officials in the VED began to implement what they saw as a swifter model for establishing "people's schools," whereby newcomers from the central gubernias of Russia had in effect to go straight to the "people's schools" that were being founded and learn the local vernacular at the same time as teaching Lithuanian peasants Russian. They did not train for their future job first by learning Lithuanian and acquiring basic teaching skills in advance. As far as we can determine from evidence from certain VED officials, the way teachers communicated first with their pupils was rather reminiscent of how Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe spoke to Man Friday on the desert island, because the teacher and his pupils could not talk to one another and so pupils were taught Russian words at first by having domestic objects pointed out to them. Admittedly, some teachers adopted a more subtle method by making children read a story and then explaining to them by various "hints" what the meaning was, and translated it into Lithuanian with the help of pupil who knew a little Russian, after having written the translation down beforehand on paper.[316]

This state of affairs required a different kind of textbook. Therefore the VED officials took pains to see that monolingual textbooks would no longer be published (in Lithuanian with Russian characters), replacing them instead with bilingual texts, where Lithuanian would be written in Cyrillic like the Russian text.[317] These primers, and later other books, were supposed in this way, according to the officials at least, to have a dual function, teaching Lithuanian pupils their own language and Russian, while helping Russian teachers learn the local language. Although Novikov's ideal was that teachers should learn as little Lithuanian as possible, "it was to be desired that the Žemaitijans learn enough to be able to understand their teacher's language rather than have the teacher learn their Žemaitijan language."[318] For this very

reason books were published for Latvians in the Latvian schools of the Vitebsk Gubernia, where a Russian translation would be published alongside the Latvian text, written in Cyrillic.[319]

The strong determination and haste of VED officials is illustrated by the way these schools were founded in the Kovno Guberna. They were supposed to be opened after peasants had given their consent to founding and maintaining them.[320] In reports from both Kashirin, who was charged with founding "people's schools" in the Novo-Aleksandrovsk, Vil'komir, Rossieny and Kovno Districts, and Novikov, it was stressed that almost everywhere the peasants had expressed a wish that schools be founded, where their children could be taught the Russian language and religion (in Lithuanian) and sometimes they demonstrated their gratitude to the tsar and Murav'ev.[321] It is hardly possible to check this account from the "other side," that is, peasant opinions. On the one hand, peasants may have imagined that such schools would be no different from the parish schools, which had existed previously, where Russian was also taught sometimes. The fact that peasants in the Kovno Gubernia took quite a large part in the 1863–1864 Uprising, compels us to doubt such favour on their part for Russian schools, but in this case such suppositions are insufficient. However, reports from Russian teachers and other VED officials have survived, which claim that peasants were not sending their children to such schools and did not want them to learn Russian, and so compulsory attendance had to be imposed.[322] Of course, it may be that at first the peasants consented to send their children to these schools and changed their minds later. Perhaps we might also suppose that the thing of most concern to peasants was religion, rather than language-learning. Thus, they may have agreed to found such schools after being assured that religion would be taught by a priest. However, then the question would arise, whether they really knew, when they gave their consent, what the schools would be like and what would be taught in them. Popov or Novikov, who only spoke Russian, may have resorted to various interpreters when communicating with the peasants. Kashirin at most may have spoken only a little Lithuanian. Thus, there may have been a considerable lack of communication. However, it is no less probable that the aforesaid officials were cunning in their dealings with peasants. After seeing that peasants in the Tel'shi and Shavli Districts regarded the publication of Lithuanian primers in Cyrillic negatively, Popov decided to change his tactics in the Ponevezh District: until the peasants agreed to establish such schools he did not even mention the Lithuanian primers in Russian characters and only showed them later to a few favourably-inclined peasants, but this was not his practice everywhere.[323] Sometimes he explained to his peasant audience that this alphabet might not be introduced.[324] Therefore, we may have our doubts

about the claims from Kashirin and Novikov that the peasants willingly supported the foundation of Russian schools.

This account of the early history of the foundation of so-called "people's schools" in the Kovno Gubernia shows clearly that the VED authorities implemented a different education policy from the one which was proposed by Hil'ferding. Now we will try to explain what aims the VED officials sought to achieve through these reforms.

The Introduction of Cyrillic as an Instrument to Assimilate Lithuanians

When discussing the situation in this province, sometimes one of the most zealous supporters of alphabet change, Novikov attempted to stress that the problems facing the authorities were not so much national as social in nature: "The uprising on the other side of the Nemunas [in the Kingdom of Poland] is a part of the great Eastern Question, but on this side of the Nemunas it is mostly a peasant matter."[325] Here he seems to be implying that the social question should be resolved in the Kovno Gubernia first by liberating the peasants from the yoke of the gentry, and then the problem would disappear. However, even if we think that the VED inspector considered the social integration of Lithuanians to be the authorities' most important policy priority in the Kovno Gubernia, we will still have to find an answer to the question of what aims he was following in cultural matters, as he established Russian schools and supported the introduction of Cyrillic into written Lithuanian. This is the area over which he had most control and to which he paid most attention in both official correspondence and his private letters at that time.

First of all, we may consider the matter of the Lithuanian language so beloved of Novikov. He did not restrict himself to observations that no such language, other than a multiplicity of dialects existed, and what is more, that it was very much influenced by other languages. On the basis of evidence from certain "experts" he offered much broader descriptions:

> something similar could be said about all expressions of folk creativity: the proverbs are half mixed up with those from other languages; their songs have lost their innate motifs and even domestic customs remind the outside observer of some peculiar kind of debris.[326]

Here we see how, without knowing Lithuanian at all, Novikov constructs or adapts an ethno-linguistic model to suit his purpose. On the basis of such assessments of the situation Novikov draws conclusions which are indeed difficult to interpret: "this mixture of dialects holds out hopes that on the ruins of various dialects it will be possible to create Russian and Žemaitijan



Fig. 68. *Nikolai Novikov (1828–1898)*



Fig. 69. *Jānis (Ivan) Sproģis (1833–1918)*

languages."[327] It seems that in this instance he is not talking about the creation of a grammar-based language, since there was no need to create a Russian language in this sense.[328] Most likely Novikov had in mind the functioning of those languages, namely that in the Kovno Gubernia people should begin to use Russian and Žemaitijan rather than a multiplicity of dialects. In another case he talks about "recreating" languages: "the current state of the Lithuanian language in the Kovno Gubernia allows us to recreate it from the ruins and create any language on the basis of these ruins."[329] "Recreation" could mean here a return to the olden days, when this province, according to frequent Russian texts at the time, had not yet been Polonised. So what was to replace the large number of dialects in the Kovno Gubernia? Did Novikov really intend to set about encouraging the standardisation of the Lithuanian language and spread public use of it?[330]

If we wish to answer this question we must first take note of how the relationship between language and the way it is written down was understood. Some local officials claimed that the "Polish alphabet" had Polonised the Lithuanians just as much the Gothic alphabet, use of which for Lithuanian was banned in 1872, had apparently Germanised them.[331] Writing Lithuanian in the "Polish alphabet," according to Novikov, was needed in order to spread use of the Polish language.[332] A similar explanation was given for the use of the Latin alphabet to write Belarusian. In other words, Lithuanian

written in “the Polish alphabet” was tantamount to being written Polish. In one of the Commission’s meetings to discuss the Polish and Žemaitijan books being sold in Vilnius, consideration was given to what to do with the Polish printing material in the presses. Kornilov was quoted as being inclined to agree that a small amount of these type sets could be retained “but under no circumstance should they be used for publishing Žemaitijan or Latvian books but only those in purely Polish or other western European languages.”[333] In other words, there was other Polish literature apart from the “purely” Polish kind. Novikov claimed that after allowing “Žemaitijan and Latvian books” in Polish characters, no one would be able to stop “any father from teaching his son Polish.”[334]

How was the Polonisation process understood? The answer to this question can be found in the explanations offered by the Russified Latvian deputy archivist in the Vil’na Central Archive, Jānis (Ivan) Sproģis, as to why the Russian alphabet was essential to Latvian. It seems that Polish words and the very structure of the Polish language were finding their way into Latvian along with the “Polish alphabet.”

> The main attempt to Polonise Catholic Latvians in the Vitebsk Gubernia via books was deeply rooted in the Roman Catholic clergy’s aim to accustom them to the Polish language via their own Latvian books. This is why in their works, such a prayerbooks, catechisms and especially their sermons they constantly used Polish words in their Latvian language, even though there was no need or sense in so doing. Alongside the extensive use of various Polish words in written Latvian the publishers of Latvian books have introduced virtually the whole structure of the Polish language, which, like individual Polish words, is little suited to Latvian.[335]

Thus the Polonisation of Lithuanians, Latvians or Belarusians, according to Russian officials at that time, was happening through writing: Polish letters, Polish words, and finally the very structure of the Polish language were being introduced.

Now let us examine how the change of alphabet in written Lithuanian progressed. The local Russian authorities quickly rejected the adaptation of Cyrillic to represent Lithuanian phonemes, which, as we have already discussed, had attempted to pay as much attention as possible to Lithuanian phonetics, and so they gave priority to another system, which Subačius claims to have been “Russian Lithuanian writing in Cyrillic.” The main creator of this version from the 1860s was a teacher, Ivan Krechinskii, whom certain


РУССКО-ЛИТОВСКІЙ
МѢСЯЦЕСЛОВЪ
НА 1870 ГОДЪ.
Составленъ Ив. Кречинскимъ.

РУСИШКАЙ-ЛЕТУВИШКАСИСЪ
КАЛЕНДОРЮСЪ
АНТЪ 1870 МЕТУ.
Парашитасъ паръ I. Кречински.

ВИЛЬНА.
Печатня А. Г. Сыркина,
на Большой ул. домъ Родкевичевой, возлѣ Никольской церкви.
1869.

Fig. 70. *A Lithuanian almanac printed in Cyrillic without diacritics*

other participants in this experiment even called "a man of slight intellectual development and even barely literate."[336]

This "concern" for the Lithuanian language is illustrated well by Novikov's deliberations.

> The fact that typesetters in the Vilnius presses know Polish and the Lithuanian-Žemaitijan dialects guarantees that the prayerbook *Актась ир потерей* could be printed directly in Russian characters from the original and so, in my opinion, there is no reason to have it transliterated [before it is set].[337]

In this instance only the letters of the unmodified Russian alphabet were left.[338] Krechinskii transliterated Lithuanian words in such a way as they would look similar to their Russian equivalents.[339] Novikov had instructed Krechinskii to take as examples Lithuanian and Russian words, which had

related roots.[340] The same strategy was adapted by Zakhar Liatskii, another enthusiast for alphabet change, whom we shall consider later. He, for example, proposed transliterating the Lithuanian word *apvyniot* [to twist, wrap up] not in a way that would be closer to the phonetics of the original "апвиніоть" but as "обвинёт" because in that way "at least the relationship between Lithuanian and Russian would not be disguised" [обвить, обвинуть].[341] In the end it was proposed that "grammatical violence" be applied: "if it is possible to allow Polish word usage, then there is no reason not to allow the use of Russian words. Both amount to grammatical violence."[342] This means that what the Poles had done in an earlier period to the Lithuanian language should be done now by Russians. In other words, VED officials not only introduced Russian letters into written Lithuanian but also sought to bring such writing as close as possible to Russian, and show their close connections. Sometimes local officials even called their new creation a "Russo-Lithuanian dialect" [*russko-litovskoe narechie*].[343]

The imperial authorities' view of alphabet change is illustrated well by the transliteration of Latvian texts into Cyrillic. Despite their best endeavours, they failed to publish them in the Latgalian dialect of those Latvians dwelling in the Vitebsk Gubernia and therefore it is no surprise that those people viewed them as alien.[344] The main transliterator of these books, Sproģis, admitted later that he had not succeeded in adapting Cyrillic to Latvian phonetics.[345]

The decision to use only Russian characters was conditioned by several factors. First of all, the imperial officials, and not just they, hoped that a single alphabet would have great power as an integrator, while separate alphabets separate nations.[346] Moreover, supporters and opponents of alphabet change argued as to which alphabet would express Lithuanian phonetics best. The modification of Russian Cyrillic, that is, the inclusion of certain Latin characters, easily undermined official arguments over the superiority of the Cyrillic alphabet.[347] Alongside these ideological motives there was a practical one too. Indeed officials did not disguise too much the fact that education reform and alphabet change were not necessary in the Kovno Gubernia in order to teach Lithuanians "to write in their ethnic dialects" (as Kaufman claimed) but solely in order to facilitate the learning of Russian:

> neither Russian people's schools and the textbooks being drafted for them, nor the leaders in this matter and teachers can or should be bothered whether the pupils in such schools learn the Žemaitijan and Lithuanian languages, so long as they learn Russian. The aim of all

> this matter, I repeat, is for pupils to learn Russian as quickly and as easily as possible.[348]

The author of these lines was the same Novikov, who was the main founding father of Russian schools in the Kovno Gubernia. He argued in similar vein about alphabet change in a letter to Katkov: "the new schools are bringing in their wake the Russian alphabet and the alphabet will later pave the way for the Russian language."[349]

Thus, we should not be surprised by the fact that at best the Lithuanian language was given only an auxiliary role in "people's schools" in the Kovno Gubernia, that is, it was to be used until children learned sufficient Russian. However, even such a level of using Lithuanian was not allowed everywhere, as many teachers arrived in the gubernia without knowing the peasant language at all. It is understandable that, when visiting these schools, VED officials checked the pupils' knowledge of Russian, but it never occurred to anyone to check their competence in Lithuanian.[350] It is hard to say what was done with Cyrillic Lithuanian textbooks in the Vil'na Gubernia, whither they were also sent.[351] Sometimes VED officials alleged that Lithuanians from the Vil'na Gubernia were furnished with basic explanations in "their native dialect."[352] However there is no firm evidence that Lithuanian was tolerated even as an auxiliary language in that gubernia. As has been said, from the 1865–1866 academic year onwards even religion was supposed to be taught in Russian to Lithuanians in the Kovno Gubernia, and religious instruction in Lithuanian for first year pupils was treated as a temporary concession, to be permitted until Lithuanians learned Russian.

Local NWP officials sought to have teaching done in Russian alone also for pragmatic nationalist reasons. After being removed from office as VED overseer, Kornilov suggested to his former subordinate, Kulin, who was still working for the VED, that he should popularise the practice already established in "people's schools" in the Kovno Gubernia of having Russian teachers, who at first were unable to communicate directly with their pupils, teach children Russian. Kornilov suggested attention be paid to the following aspect:

> a Russian boy surpasses a Žemaitijan, when both have the same abilities and both master writing in Russian at the same time. How much time will be required for the Žemaitijan boy or little Jew [*zhidenek*] to achieve the same results as Russian boys. While one year is enough for a Russian, the aliens [*inorodtsy*] require, most probably, two or three.[353]

In other words, the teaching method which used only the Russian language for instruction naturally gave the advantage to Russians, who were intended to dominate within the empire.

There are other signs too which show that the local authorities did not even seek to make Lithuanians more used to Lithuanian books transliterated into Cyrillic. Throughout the whole period of publishing Lithuanian in Cyrillic up to 1904 only 55 titles were published, or a little more than 60 if we count all the various parts of the print run.[354] From the early 1870s religious literature and even almanacs were no longer published for Lithuanians and Latvians. The authorities also did not tolerate private initiatives from Lithuanians, who campaigned to stop their fellow nationals boycotting Lithuanian books in Cyrillic, to publish books in the Russian alphabet. Finally from 1874 there was no longer any official censor in Vilnius, who understood Lithuanian. This post was reintroduced only at the beginning of the twentieth century and then only because large numbers of underground Lithuanian books in the Latin alphabet were falling into the hands of the authorities.[355]

It is understandable that after removing Lithuanian from schools there were similar plans to eliminate it from the public sphere as a whole. When the language was not being taught even in primary schools, it was not supposed to have any public function, in effect. The public arena was reserved for Russian:

> The second state force in Russia after the Orthodox Church is the Russian language. This should dominate in all spheres of life and no other language can be tolerated outside the bosom of the family in any state institutions, during celebrations, or in public places. In exactly the same way the claims and public expression of the nationality of no group apart from the Russians may be tolerated outside the family circle.[356]

Thus it is no surprise that Lithuanians, for example, could be arrested solely for speaking Lithuanian in the presence of a justice of the peace.[357]

After examining this aim for initiating alphabet change with regard to Lithuanian, we can explain Novikov's deliberations over the condition of the Lithuanian language, the variety of its dialects, the influence on it of other languages, and so on. It is likely that the VED inspector viewed this theory of the state of the Lithuanian language purely as a means to achieve his ends. He needed it to repudiate the claims of his opponents concerning the need to standardise the language and institutionalise it in schools, and show that it was both senseless and impossible to allow it access to the public arena.[358]

Thus the implementation of education policy and the deliberations of VED officials about the aims of alphabet change for written Lithuanian permit us to assert that the local authorities sought to Russify the Lithuanians linguistically, even though, as has already been mentioned, the concept of political correctness existing at the time did not allow civil servants to describe their policy as Russification *ipso verbo*. Only on occasion, often in private correspondence, did local NWP officials speak about their aim to Russify the Lithuanians. VED Overseer Kornilov was dissatisfied with the graduates of Orthodox Seminaries, who were coming to the province to become teachers in the Kovno Gubernia. This is what he says in a letter to Novikov: "Do those dunderheads really think such scoundrels can Russify anyone?"[359] In other instances officials gave it to be understood that Russian schools were supposed to educate "Russified Žemaitijans" [*russkii zhmudiak*].[360]

However, does Russification in terms of language automatically mean that the authorities sought to assimilate Lithuanians? Here we should recall that the answer to this question depends on the concept of nationality prevalent in the discourse of the day. As far as we know, a larger part of active supporters of the adaptation of Cyrillic for use in writing Lithuanian, who worked in the VED, regarded religion as the most important denominator of nationality.[361] Thus, attempts at restricting the functioning of Lithuanian to the domestic level alone, or even attempts to remove it from the family circle, according to these officials, could not signify total assimilation.

However, in various nineteenth-century sources we can find evidence that there were close connections between one alphabet or another and a specific religion (Latin characters were associated with Catholicism, Gothic ones with Protestantism, and Cyrillic with Orthodoxy). It seems that certain VED officials at least also hoped that after Lithuanians adopted Cyrillic, they would one day accept Orthodoxy, since "for an alphabet often serves as a promulgator of ideas, usually religious ones, for an ethnic group [*plemia*], which lays no claim to independent life."[362] It seems that this was the intention behind proposals to translate the Orthodox Liturgy into Lithuanian and hold prayers in this language in Orthodox churches.[363] It is likely that VED officials treated the use of Russian letters for writing Lithuanian as a preparatory move towards making the people Orthodox. As has been noted, the Lithuanians were regarded as being very religious to the point of "fanaticism." It seems that Novikov was the only one to claim otherwise. However, even he sometimes uttered thoughts about the fanaticism of the local masses.[364] The problem was how to select suitable methods to achieve the spread of Orthodoxy. It was clear to VED officials that the Lithuanians were so religious that they could not be converted to Orthodoxy immediately without any preparatory work, and so Novikov reported to Katkov that

> we are printing these booklets [Catholic hymns in Lithuanian in Cyrillic] against our will because the time for open conflict with Catholicism has not yet come; because without this book the ordinary people would be helpless; most simply because it has become a holy text, despite the fact that it did not originate in the Church at all.[365]

This quotation shows quite clearly that Novikov too acknowledged Lithuanians to be very devout. VED Overseer Kornilov, according to Novikov, was considering ways to "assimilate the province via religion."[366]

However, turning the Lithuanians Orthodox was not an aim to be achieved quickly. This is illustrated well by one instance from spring 1866. VED Overseer Kornilov instructed VED Inspector Novikov to distribute 220 books in the "people's schools" of the Kovno Gubernia. These were copies of Bishop Antonii (Zubko) of Minsk's *Letters to a Roman Catholic Priest Acquaintance*. Also there were 60 copies of another publication, *Voskresnoe chtenie* [Sunday Readings]. Admitting that such books were necessary for teachers newly arrived from the interior gubernias of Russian, Novikov was afraid that they might not only use them themselves but also read them to their pupils and this, in the inspector's opinion, would help the campaign waged by Catholic clergy against the Russian schools. Novikov was particularly afraid of Valančius' influence.[367] It seems that without being able to go against his superior's instructions directly, he approached the governor of Kovno, N. Murav'ev, asking whether this measure was really timely and sensible at that particular moment. This official text illustrates clearly that Novikov had no doubts that distributing this book would not be beneficial. He could hardly have formulated his views strongly because he was dealing with instructions from his direct superior, the VED overseer. Although N. Murav'ev supported Novikov, thinking that these books could be distributed only among teachers, who asked for them and would pay for them, Governor General Kaufman ordered the books to be sent out nonetheless on condition that VED officials ensured that they would not be used for propaganda purposes among the peasantry.[368] Thus Novikov was burdened with functions, which, we may suspect, he realised he could not carry out.

The imperial authorities' view of the introduction of Russian characters for writing Lithuanian, which sought not to standardise written Lithuanian through use of Cyrillic, but only facilitate the learning of Russian and aid thereby the conversion of Lithuanians to Orthodoxy, changed the Lithuanian view of this experiment, of course.

There is a shortage of source material for assessing peasant reaction. However, VED officials were often forced to be cunning and sometimes only showed the Lithuanian textbooks in Cyrillic to peasants after the latter had consented to founding a school. According to Popov, after he had persuaded the peasants of the utility of the transliterated textbooks, the peasants asked what would happen to prayerbooks. Having heard that they too would be printed in Russian characters, "they all fell silent and lowered their heads."[369] In other words, the rejection threshold for religious books was much higher than in the case of secular publications.

The transliteration of secular and religious books and the prohibition on using the traditional alphabet forced even educated Lithuanians, primarily Bishop Valančius, to oppose this measure. An important reason for rejecting the measure was the ignoring of Lithuanian phonetics, but the most important obstacle to Lithuanians' acceptance or at least tolerance of the written forms imposed by the authorities was connected with matters religious. This was especially so because local officials sought to change the content of Catholic texts too. Thus the Orthodox way of making the Sign of the Cross was published in catechisms instead of the Catholic one.[370] The mass rush by Catholic inhabitants of the Kovno Gubernia to receive the Sacrament of Confirmation from Bishop Valančius in Kaunas in autumn 1865 most likely reflected fears among the Catholic community that the "people's schools," which began to be founded in 1864, had the aim of converting Lithuanian peasants to Orthodoxy.[371]

Thus it is no surprise that the smuggling of Lithuanian books from Eastern Prussia began, and the activity gained massive proportions over the forty years of the prohibition between 1864 and 1904. In that period 2,687 Lithuanian publications were printed there, of which, according to Domas Kaunas, 2,000 were intended for readers in the Russian Empire. At the same time 712 titles were published in the US (not counting periodicals), and some of these were also dispatched to the Russian Empire.[372]

However, such an implementation of nationality policy, whereby there were even attempts to minimalise the function of Lithuanian in primary schools and to begin teaching children Russian from their very first lessons onwards, fostered doubts in the minds of certain local NWP civil servants.

Amendment of the Methods of Russian Primary Education

As early as the 1860s we can find more than one critical reaction by officials themselves to the incoming seminarians. Bessonov, who held various posts in the NWP in 1865–1866, as director of the Vilnius Rabbinical

Seminary, the Vilnius Palaeolographical Commission and the Museum of Antiquities, called the newly-arrived teachers "semi-literate," "people of not the highest morals."[373] Confidential correspondence from VED officials shows that even those who initiated this policy were not happy with some of the incoming seminarians. They had scarcely just begun their new task, when VED officials came up against problems because Orthodox consistories from the interior gubernias were in no haste to send their best seminarians westwards. The administration of the VED Directorate of People's Schools acknowledged that the new arrivals were giving up their jobs as soon as the opportunity arose, and that there were insufficient funds to invite new future teachers every year. Thus, "sometimes it is necessary to appoint to teaching posts candidates, who are not prepared for such work."[374] VED officials also admitted that the material conditions available did not satisfy the newcomers, who were coming to an alien, if not unfriendly environment.[375] This "unfriendly" environment not only "damaged" the teachers, but also the teachers "damaged" the schools. It was for this reason that in 1867 Novikov suggested inviting only those who had completed seminary studies rather than those who had taken just a few courses.[376] In 1871 a third of the seminarians, who had arrived in 1865–1867, were no longer employed in VED schools.[377]

Unlike Kornilov and Novikov and certain other leading VED officials, some lower-ranking officials and teachers admitted that schoolmasters, who spoke the local language, were working better and achieving better results in teaching Russian.[378] Some teachers were prepared to spend their summer vacation learning Lithuanian.[379]

There was another problem deriving form the fact, recorded in the reports of VED officials, that Lithuanian children came to state schools when they already knew the Latin alphabet and could read Lithuanian and so when they began to learn Russian they pronounced Russian letters in a Lithuanian way.[380] In such a situation it was possible in theory to apply another method of learning Russian, namely by transliterating Cyrillic into Latin characters. Then children would have been able to read a Russian text before learning Cyrillic later. However, as we know, the local authorities did not consider such a plan at all and it is easy to understand why. Cyrillic was an important sign of Russianness, while the use of Latin characters for writing Russian would have been considered at best a misunderstanding and at worst an attempt to implant western influences into Russian culture.[381]

In this context the dismissal of one teacher, Fedor Samarskii, in 1868 is a matter of interest. Officially he was dismissed because of "illness and lack of knowledge of Žemaitijan." However, at the same time Novikov explained that

Samarskii had lost his job because "he was a renowned drunkard."[382] It may be that drunkenness was indeed the primary reason for his dismissal, although in other cases the local authorities regarded such failures in their employees with greater indulgence. For example, in 1864 Krechinskii was dismissed from his teaching post on account of insobriety, but he was soon given another such post.[383] As we have said, Krechinskii contributed a good deal to the publication of Lithuanian texts in Cyrillic. It is important that VED Inspector Novikov did not regard failure to understand Lithuanian as even a secondary reason for dismissing Samarskii.

While Kornilov ran the VED and Novikov was responsible for "people's schools" in the Kovno Gubernia, the way teachers were appointed and the didactic methods they employed remained the same. In 1868 the situation changed. In spring of that year Kornilov was removed from office. That same summer bureaucrats began corresponding over the post of third district inspector and in October this ended with Novikov's appointment as director of the Kovno schools.[384] However, what is most important is that that same year Governor General Baranov of Vil'na was replaced by Potapov. The new governor general did not favour the previous policy of Russification, even in the sphere of education. According to Potapov, local people, that is, "Belarusians, Lithuanians, Žemaitijans or Latvians" could be employed as teachers so long as they had received the appropriate education.[385]

It was easier for the new VED overseer, Batiushkov, who had been in charge previously of building Orthodox churches and improving the condition of the Orthodox clergy, to admit that in the Western Province the accepted practice of making teaching appointments had to be changed. The director of the Kovno "people's schools," Nikonor Savel'ev, agreed with this. On the instructions of the VED overseer in September 1868 the director of "people's schools" in the Kovno Gubernia drafted plans for establishing a teacher training college in Kėdainiai [Keidany]. Savel'ev acknowledged that often seminary graduates, who came to the province, had not been trained to be teachers and that every year "people's schools" in the gubernia required teachers, and that this need was expensive. Although Savel'ev did not mention lack of Lithuanian as one of the shortcomings of the newcomers, the Keidany Teacher Training College statutes say that future teachers, who, of course, were only Orthodox, could be appointed if they "knew and spoke at least a little Lithuanian or Žemaitijan." Admittedly, there was no intention of teaching Lithuanian in the college.[386] Thus it was sufficient for these teachers to know as much Lithuanian as they knew even before entering the training college.

However, neither this, nor any other plans conceived in the VED for founding new teacher training colleges in the second half of the 1860s, were



Fig. 71. *Dmitrii Tolstoi (1823–1889)*

implemented.[387] It is probable that the reasons for this should be sought in St Petersburg. Tolstoi at first intended to support the Orthodox clergy as primary school teachers.[388] Most likely it was for this reason that the idea for establishing a teacher training college in the Kovno Gubernia was not put into effect. However, later after reviewing the teacher training course established in various education districts when Golovnin was minister, Tolstoi found these lacking and decided to prioritise the training of teachers in teacher training colleges. From the early 1870s these began to appear throughout the empire and the model for their development was taken from the college in Molodechno.[389]

In the NWP the new governor general, Potapov, took up this problem. Tsar Alexander II reacted favourably to the proposals put forward in the governor general's report for 1868–1870 for the establishment of another training college, this time most probably in Žemaitija.[390] The support of the governor general for such an idea, it seems, was not supposed to give rise to any discussion in the NWP, but it seems that there were not only supporters, but also opponents of plans to establish training colleges within the VED.

As before, the director of "people's schools" in the Kovno Gubernia, Savel'ev, supported this plan. He thought that teachers of local peasant descent would be better able to fulfill their task because they would not differ from their pupils in terms of origin or class, and that since they could speak Žemaitijan, they could teach Russian with more success, while Russian



Fig. 72. *Nikolai Sergievskii (1827–1901)*

newcomers from the interior gubernias were in no way better than these. Savel'ev's thoughts along these lines would seem to show that the director of "people's schools" in the Kovno Gubernia proposed making a sea change in accepted practice, that is, to appoint Lithuanian teachers. It was in this way that the recently-appointed VED overseer, Nikolai Sergievskii, understood Savel'ev's musings. Sergievskii considered that Lithuanian teachers would never support Russian thinking, sentiments and nationality, and that instead they would lend their support to "fanatical priests" or "Germanisation." However, Savel'ev's further deliberations show that he had in mind local Orthodox, most likely Lithuanian converts (otherwise it would be hard to explain his remark that future teachers should not differ from their pupils according to origin). Thus a site should be chosen for the training college, where there was a greater Orthodox population.[391]

However, most directors of "people's schools" in the VED proposed continuing with Novikov's practice, since apparently the newcomers from the interior gubernias were carrying out their work well; the ordinary people

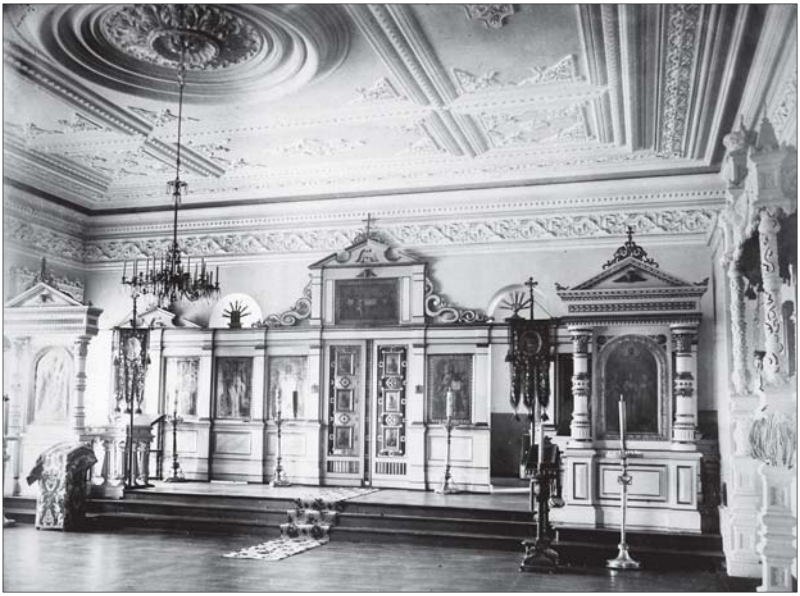


Fig. 73. *Ponevezh Teacher Training College*

trusted them and it was not at all bad that some of them gave up their teaching posts. Perhaps the directors thought this state of affairs to be even better, since "it may be feared that after dwelling for a long time among those of alien origin, persons of Russian descent might become distanced from Russian communities and submit to local influence, rather than influencing the others," and even an Orthodox Žemaitijan teacher would most probably give in to the influence of those around him and even not hold firmly to the grounding given him by his training college. Therefore this problem could be opened for discussion only after there were exact figures for the number of Orthodox locals and newcomers in the Kovno Gubernia.[392] The earlier practice was defended by the former VED overseer, Kornilov, who claimed that the teaching method was better than the one applied in the Kazan' Education District, where the Il'minskii System was being followed and children were taught in the local language.[393]

After a short search, during which officials tried to find out where in the gubernia most Orthodox believers lived and where suitable premises could be found for the training college, the spotlight rested on Panevėžys, because this was a gubernia centre (this town, we may recall, was home to the Kovno Directorate of People's Schools) and there were suitable premises, which were occupied at the time by the district and parish schools.[394]

Finally, with the approval of the education minister and the consent of Alexander II the Ponevezh Teacher Training College was opened during the 1872–1873 academic year.[395] The foundation was connected with the specific state of affairs prevalent in the Kovno Gubernia. At that time the Molodechno Teacher Training College was training teachers for the Vil'na, Grodno and Minsk Gubernias, while the 1872 Polotsk College served Vitebsk and Mogilev.[396] Only the Kovno Gubernia did not have its "own" training college, but there were "special local conditions" because of the ethnic variety and the influence of "alien elements": teachers had to be able to talk with the locals. In an explanatory text drafted by the VED officials it was stressed, apparently after taking account of the opinion of the headmasters of most "people's schools," that Orthodox believers should become students in these schools and it was explained too that a few years earlier it had been impossible to found such a training college and now the problem no longer existed since many Russians had moved to the Western Province, thanks to the authorities' policy. It would seem then that it was thought that ethnic Russians, who had recently migrated to the Kovno Gubernia, should be employed as teachers.[397] However, conditions to the effect that candidates were "required to be of the Orthodox religion" were made public in the advertisement of the opening of Ponevezh Teacher Training College.[398] Thus in this case not the definition "persons of Russian descent and Orthodox religion" was used, which we encounter more often. The failure to mention the candidates' descent, of course, may not have had any conscious implications since, indeed, in official and public discourse at that time similar definitions could mean the same thing, but in this case we may suspect that it was decided deliberately not to mention the candidates' ethnic origin. As has been said, Savel'ev thought that Orthodox Žemaitijans could be employed as teachers. The rules of admission to the Molodechno Teacher Training College did state the ethnic and religious origin required of candidates. These were to be "of the Orthodox Faith and purely Russian descent [*chisto russkikh*]."[399] Thus, although VED officials gave priority to ethnic Russians, when realising that there could be a shortage of such people to enter the training college in the Kovno Gubernia, they made provision for admitting Žemaitijan converts. This practice was maintained.[400]

After the statutes of the Ponevezh College had been confirmed, an interesting proposal was mooted by the deputy education minister, Ivan Delianov, to admit Uniates to the college too.[401] This is interesting for several reasons. As we have noted, local people were to be the prime candidates for entry to the college, and the Uniate Church had been dissolved in the Western Province in 1839. Clearly Delianov was thinking of bringing Uniates from the

Kingdom of Poland, but in autumn 1872 there were still no such candidates. In so far as we can tell from his official remarks, VED Overseer Sergievskii was inclined to resolve this issue when suitable candidates appeared, but it is probable that the admission of Uniates to Ponevezh College would have been opposed by the Orthodox Church or other official institutions, even if the VED had approved the policy. During the campaign against not only the Catholic Church in the Western Province but also what were termed at the time "the remnants of the Union" within the Orthodox Church, it must have seemed to many local officials and Orthodox clerics that a decision to entrust teaching duties to Uniates was not only unsuitable but even fraught with danger.

Thus the Ponevezh Teacher Training College which was founded in 1872 was open to "young men of all Orthodox classes, who wish to devote themselves to teaching in VED primary schools, primarily in the Kovno Gubernia."[402] Although official correspondence mentioned more than once that would-be teachers had to be able to communicate in their pupils' language, such a requirement was not made of college entrants nor was their provision for the study of Lithuanian there. This problem arose in autumn 1872. On the initiative of the VED overseer the council of the training college discussed the issue. At first there was no success in finding a teacher "of Russian descent and Orthodox religion" and so, in the council's opinion students who spoke Žemaitijan could teach their fellow students, who did not, in the evenings. However, a suitable teacher was found early in 1873, namely the Ponevezh District treasurer, Liatskii, who, with the approval of the college authorities, began to hold three weekly "Žemaitijan dialect" lessons.[403] During their "Žemaitijan language" lessons the teacher would stress the similarities between Lithuanian and Russian:

> following the previous syllabus and way of teaching, the Žemaitijan language teacher familiarised his pupils with the most important part of Žemaitijan grammar, limiting himself most often to the basic trends and rules of the language, seeking Russian words in Žemaitijan by omitting many of the endings of real Žemaitijan words, and replacing some letters with others.[404]

Thus on the one hand, the education policy instigated in the Kovno Gubernia after 1863 was amended from the beginning of the 1870s. Unlike Novikov and his fellow-minded officials, VED officials now acknowledged that there could be more efficient teaching, primarily of Russian, only when the teacher could speak to his pupils in their own language. However, this correction to nationality policy did not in essence change either education

policy strategy or the status of the Lithuanian language. Teachers would learn Lithuanian solely to be able to teach Russian more efficiently, while Lithuanian retained just an auxiliary role. Admittedly, the enthusiasm of VED officials visibly waned. According to Kulin's data, up to 1869 there were 190 so-called "people's schools" founded in the Kovno Gubernia and by 1894 only seven more, 197 in total, operated in the gubernia.[405]

Alongside the "people's schools" Protestant parish schools were also open in the VED until the end of the 1860s. As we know, the Russian authorities regarded Protestants as a more loyal denomination than Catholics. We can see a reflection of this view in education policy too.

The Fate of Protestant Parish Schools

The reorganisation of Protestant parish schools began in earnest in 1868, that is, when a new VED overseer was appointed.[406] There was more than one reason for this "lateness," in comparison with what happened to Catholic schools. First of all, Protestants made up only a small part of the VED population. However, a more important reason was the view of Protestants taken by the local and central authorities.

Almost as soon as he arrived to work in the Kovno Gubernia Novikov rang alarm bells concerning Prussian attempts to distribute in the gubernia Lithuanian books printed in the Gothic script, and he proposed that measures be taken forthwith to strengthen the "Russian base" and hinder the spread of Germanisation.[407] In later years he dramtised the situation further still, claiming that the Kovno Gubernia was in a very parlous geographical situation between the Kingdom of Poland, the Baltic Gubernias and Prussia and that the influence of the Baltic Germans was increasing in the region. The influence of the Baltic Germans had reached such a level, as the result of wealthy Lutheran parishes, well-equipped German schools and the distribution of books published in the Gothic script in the gubernia's borderlands that German was taking over from the local dialects.[408]

Local NWP officials, who were inclined to adopt more radical means of Russification against Protestants too, came up against Murav'ev's more cautious stance immediately after the Uprising. The impact of different ethno-political strategies can be illustrated by several examples. In autumn 1864 a "German" school was set up in Panevėžys without the authorities' consent, where a Prussian subject, Herman Stobbe taught Lutheran children religion and German. VED officials suggested closing down the school not only because it had been founded without their consent but also because the teacher was not licensed for this profession. However, they came up against

opposition from Murav'ev. Although the governor general had prohibited unlicensed Prussian teachers to work in this profession, he allowed this and even other schools to continue to operate.[409] Similarly Murav'ev stopped VED officials from introducing the teaching of religion in Russian to Calvinists in the Slutsk Grammar School. According to Novikov, Murav'ev held to the principle that "when beating some it was impossible not to rely on others; it was necessary to distinguish open rebels from silent enemies."[410] The Protestants had their protectors in St Petersburg too. When VED officials set about reforming the grammar school in Slutsk in 1864–1865 by placing it under the jurisdiction of the education department, they were opposed by the interior minister, who was responsible for "foreign religious schools." In Valuev's opinion, "during the last Uprising in the NWP the Calvinists, as far as he knew, had been faithful to the government and remained trustworthy when surrounded by traitors, without a single Calvinist taking part in the rebellion," and so Valuev considered that they should "support the Calvinist element in the NWP, balancing it against the direction which had been highlighted by the Catholic clergy during recent events."[411]

In 1868 Kornilov was dismissed. He had "known" that the central authorities were inclined to grant more "privileges" to Protestants than Catholics, and of no less importance was the fact that on 9 March that same year Valuev was removed from office as interior minister.

The changes in the VED authorities' position regarding Protestant schools are shown by the instructions issued by the overseer on 12 August 1868 to Kulin and Novikov to investigate the state of Protestant parish schools and make relevant proposals.[412] Describing the state of Protestant parish schools, Kulin noted that Protestant schools were operating illegally in many places. Because they were not only preparing children for Confirmation but also offered a broader syllabus, they were supposed to function in accordance with the Provisional Regulations; the schools were supposed to be subordinate to the Directorate of People's Schools; children were supposed to be taught to read and write Russian; arithmetic and geography, as well as singing, were to be taught in Russian. In other words, these schools were supposed to be similar to other VED "people's schools," except that here teachers were allowed to teach not only religion and singing but also how to read, and where necessary, write German.[413]

Novikov's expert analysis investigated the state of Calvinist and Lutheran parish schools in the Kovno Gubernia. These deliberations not only reveal the VED district inspector's view of Protestant schools but also supplement our knowledge of his attitude to the use of Cyrillic in written Lithuanian. First

of all, Novikov noticed that, given the ratio of the number of schools to that of the Protestant population in the gubernia, members of this denomination were in a much better position than those of other confessions. The fact that all Protestants had to be confirmed was the reason, according to the VED inspector, for the large number of schools. Lithuanian and Latvian prevailed in Calvinist schools and pupils studied from textbooks in those languages which were printed in the "Latin and German scripts," while only those who so wished studied German and Russian. Moreover, teachers often did not know Russian themselves. Teaching in Lutheran schools was in German, although Russian was also taught. Thus Novikov came to the conclusion that these schools were opposed to the Russian "people's schools" founded in the Kovno Gubernia and might even be called "foreign." The VED inspector went on to explain the aims of the Russian "people's schools."

As in earlier years, certain of Novikov's deliberations can appear contradictory. He stressed immediately that only Russian could be the language of instruction in "people's schools," but after that he noted that these schools "also offer the chance for ethnic dialects to become a written language with the help of the Russian alphabet." However, later explanations show without any ambiguity that the VED inspector did not intend to help Lithuanian and Latvian become written languages, and one of the most important reasons for this is that the Latin and German alphabets were unsuitable for expressing the phonetics of these languages. Cyrillic was a different matter: "it is indisputable that the letters of the Russian alphabet are completely sufficient for expressing completely accurately and most simply the specifics of all local ethnic languages." Novikov's further deliberations show clearly that he did indeed see no point in using Cyrillic for writing these languages:

> even if the attempt by Russian people's schools to use the Russian alphabet for writing the local ethnic languages is no more successful than the centuries-long attempt to impose the Latin and German alphabets, the Russian alphabet will be more useful to local inhabitants than all the rest because it will introduce and facilitate the learning of Russian for the masses. Russian is most required in domestic and official intercourse.

In other words, using Cyrillic for writing Lithuanian would serve the basic aim of making Lithuanians and Latvians learn Russian more easily: "the introduction of the Russian alphabet will indisputably lead to the presence

of exceptional persons among the local literate population, who will write only Russian."

Almost at the very end of the expert report Novikov begins, at first sight unexpectedly, to praise the Lutheran school in Tauragė [Taurogen], which he did not propose to convert into a typical "people's school" (unlike other Protestant parish schools), but rather he wished to allow it to continue to function and even have four classes. Even though it was not expressed in these terms directly, it is probable that teaching there, apart from religious instruction, was to be in Russian. So why did this establishment earn the attention of the VED inspector? The answer to this question could help explain the aims of Russian "people's schools," as Novikov saw them.

In the eighteenth century there was only one Lutheran church left in the Rossieny District, according to Novikov. However, Lutheran numbers began to grow sharply and here the school achieved much. In all areas, except Russian, it achieved "perfection." A preparatory school [*prishkolka*] was established beside it, which was attended not only by immigrants from Prussia but also by local Lithuanians, who had converted to Lutheranism. As the number of Lutherans rose new houses of worship were built.[414]

Thus, we may suppose that the example of this Lutheran school in Tauragė may have fitted in with Novikov's vision for "people's schools" in the Kovno Gubernia: a good Russian school could become a centre of gravity for those "of other faiths" and encourage them to change denomination.

After these reports from Kulin and Novikov proposals came from the VED for reforming Calvinist and Lutheran parish churches: they were to function according to the Provisional Regulations and so everything, apart from religion, was to be taught in Russian, although exceptions could be made to allow those who were not ethnic Russians to be teachers, if they were licensed, spoke good Russian and were Lutheran.[415] On the initiative of the new interior minister, Timashev, permission was granted to teach just enough German in these schools to "make German prayers understandable." At the same time provision was made for employing a separate teacher for this subject.[416] These instructions were implemented immediately, that is, the Protestant parish schools were joined to the "people's schools."[417]

However, the Russifiers working in the VED were not satisfied with even this integration of Protestant parish schools within the directorate system. The Council of the Kovno Gubernia Directorate of Schools proposed having Protestant religious instruction given in Russian in the higher classes at least: in their first year children were to be taught religion "in the local dialect;" in the second year they were to be taught in Russian with the explanation of

new words in their native dialects, while later teaching was to be in Russian alone; it was also suggested that during religious instruction children could learn enough of their "local dialects" to be able to understand religious books and hymns.[418] However, during the VED Overseer's Council meeting attended by Kulin and Novikov a more radical step was mooted, namely to apply Kaufman's 1866 instruction on teaching religion to Catholics to the teaching of Protestants. In addition arguments were repeated, which Novikov had put forward many times on various occasions, concerning the senslessness of teaching in local dialects.[419] However, as far as we can tell from the archival evidence available, despite repeated notes from the VED overseer to the Education Ministry, until 1874 at least no reply was received from St Petersburg and so religious instruction for Protestants was taught either in German or "the local dialects," namely in Lithuanian or Latvian.[420]

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Thus the replacement of traditional Latin and Gothic alphabets with Cyrillic, according to Hil'ferding and certain other supporters of his, was supposed to become an important instrument for acculturating the Lithuanians. According to this idea, alphabet change was not intended to halt the development of written Lithuanian, but rather to encourage it. The Lithuanian language was supposed to become standardised, and taught in schools, including secondary schools, as had not been the case before. This policy was implemented not in the NWP but in the Kingdom of Poland. There Lithuanian was taught not only in primary-, but also in secondary schools and the teacher training college; and special scholarships were founded for Lithuanians to study at Russian universities.

However, Lithuanian educational matters in the NWP fell into the hands of those pursuing a different nationality policy. VED officials, especially Inspector Novikov, who was responsible for setting up "people's schools" in the Kovno Gubernia, interpreted the introduction of Cyrillic into written Lithuanian as a means to facilitate the learning of Russian (so that Lithuanians would have to learn one alphabet rather than two); therefore, when transliterating, scant attention was paid to Lithuanian phonetics; letters were selected so that transliterated Lithuanian words would look as similar as possible to their Russian equivalents; in other words, there were attempts to bring Lithuanian closer to Russian and Lithuanian children were supposed to learn Russian from their first year in school (which Hil'ferding regarded as complete nonsense). There were attempts to strip Lithuanian of all possible public functions and in the end the introduction of Cyrillic was regarded as

a means to convert Lithuanians eventually to Orthodoxy. This could not be done immediately because Lithuanians were regarded as devout to the point of fanaticism. Thus VED officials introduced Cyrillic into written Lithuanian in the hope that this move would lay the foundations for Lithuanian assimilation. The conversion of Lithuanians to Orthodoxy was supposed to follow on from linguistic Russification.

However, on the other hand, the differences between the models conceived for using Cyrillic in Lithuanian writing, as discussed here, were not so grandiose. Even Hil'ferding, who proposed supporting Lithuanian national development to counteract Polish influence, for example, favoured the Prussian policy, which was bent on Lithuanian assimilation. In this case, of course, both these differing groups of Russian officials and their supporters had no doubt in the least that in the future Russian language and civilisation would dominate in the public life of this province in the future.

A special role in implementing the use of Cyrillic for written Lithuanian was played by VED officials. It was on their initiative that the prohibition on traditional alphabets was the crowning glory of the introduction of Cyrillic; teachers from the Orthodox seminaries, who knew absolutely no Lithuanian, were employed in primary schools; only an auxiliary role was left for Lithuanian and the language was tolerated for religious instruction only for first-year pupils. The role played by local officialdom becomes clearer when we compare the fate of Catholic and Protestant primary education. In the case of the Calvinists and Lutherans the systematic Russification of schools did not begin immediately after 1863, but rather in 1868, and the teaching of religion in Russian was not introduced into their primary schools until the mid-1870s at least. VED officials sought to turn these schools into Russian "people's schools" immediately after the Uprising, but the question of Protestant schools could not be resolved in the Kovno Gubernia or within the realm of the VED alone. Because some high-ranking local officials (such as Murav'ev) and representatives of the central authorities (Valuev) considered that NWP Protestants were loyal or at least considerably more loyal than their Catholic counterparts, their parish schools were tolerated for a longer period. In other words, in the case of Protestants a more tolerant policy from the authorities was determined not only by their place in the imperial hierarchy (they were regarded as being more loyal politically than Catholics) but also by the fact that in the case of Protestant schools their fate did not depend solely on the power of the local authorities.

Problems with the Status of Belarusian

The other "peasant" language in the NWP was Belarusian. In the nineteenth century the imperial authorities regarded the Belarusians (in Russian now, *belorusy*, but then written with two <s>, *belorussy* to stress a link between the "Great Russians" and the "White Russians") as part of the tripartite Russian Nation and, as Miller has remarked correctly, the imperial political and intellectual elite treated the striving of Ukrainians (and we may add, Belarusians) for national self-determination as a "sabotage from within the 'national body'."[421] As a rule, Belarusians, who were referred to in official and public discourse of the day also as "Ruthenians" or simply "Russians," were found by the imperial authorities to exist solely in a peasant milieu.

Historians are a little confused over the question of what measures the imperial authorities employed regarding publications in Belarusian. Certain scholars consider that Governor General Murav'ev of Vil'na forbade the publication of books in Belarusian.[422] Others subscribe to the view that such publications were "in effect forbidden," or in other words, that there was no direct prohibition.[423] Another group points to the fact that only works of oral folk creation were allowed to be published in ethnographic collections and the periodical press.[424] Historians also claim that the authorities did not see any need for such a ban.[425]

In this section we will examine the attitudes of the imperial centre (or rather various individuals and institutions operating in the centre), local authorities in the Western Province and the local gentry towards the phenomenon of Belarusianness, and especially how far use of the Belarusian language was permitted.

In one of the preceding chapters we presented the debates, which took place at the very beginning of the 1860s, discussing the possibility of supporting the ethno-cultural development of Belarusians as a separate ethnic group to act as a counterweight to the Poles. Slavophiles and "enlightened bureaucrats" proposed not only publishing various compositions in the local languages but also permitting them to be used in primary education and the preaching of sermons. Now we will follow the fate of the Belarusian language in these areas of public usage.[426]

Was There a Ban on Belarusian Books?

The formation of the Belarusian written language in the nineteenth century came up against at least two serious problems. First of all, there was the absence of an educated class, which spoke Belarusian. Secondly the

heterogeneous nature of the Belarusian population in religious terms presented the very bitter issue of which alphabet to use. Catholics used the Latin alphabet, while the Orthodox employed Cyrillic.

Although, as the Belarusian historian Sergei Tokt' claims, at the beginning of the nineteenth century an idea arose among the Uniate clergy to revive literature in the chancery language of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, this was not followed up because the language was too archaic. Therefore the Belarusian standard language was being formed on the basis of popular dialects. The first Belarusian publication in the Latin alphabet, albeit with a title in Polish, appeared in 1835: *Krótkie zebranie nauki Chrześcijańskiej dla wieśniaków mówiących językiem polsko-ruskim wyznania Rzymsko-katolickiego* [A Short Collection of Christian Knowledge for Roman Catholic Villagers Speaking the Polish-Ruthenian Language]. This was connected, most probably, with the aim of the local gentry elite to draw Belarusian peasants to their side. It was at this time that the authorities were preparing to liquidate the Uniate Church (which was dissolved in 1839), that is, to convert Uniate Belarusians to Orthodoxy. It is interesting that at the beginning of the integration of the former Uniates into the Orthodox Church a chance was seen to use the "simple generally-understood language" in meetings with parishioners. The authorities and the leaders of the Orthodox Church realised that the "Reunification" of 1839 would not turn the former Uniates into the same kind of Russian Orthodox believers as those in the interior gubernias immediately. The primary task at that time was to keep them Orthodox. To this end they had to take pains to ensure that sermons were understood by ordinary people. Most probably it was for this reason that in 1840 a decree was issued instructing Orthodox parish priests in the Western Province "to preach their sermons in church on Sundays and holydays in simple generally-understood language or explain the catechism in the form of a dialogue." The Lithuanian Orthodox Consistory was more specific, saying that the "language of simple people" was meant here.[427] It may be supposed that the use of "the language of simple folk" in the Orthodox Church was supposed to serve to draw people away from Polish. Here we can see how two elite groups (the Orthodox clergy and the Catholic gentry) were beginning the "struggle for the people's soul," using the language of peasants to achieve their aim.

Later too, in the 1840s and 1850s local Polish-speaking intellectuals published various texts in Belarusian in the Latin alphabet and this did not arouse any fears among the local, let alone the central authorities.[428] At the same time Belarusian texts in Cyrillic appeared in Orthodox circles. The first Belarusian grammar and dictionary (1845) were prepared by Pavel Shpilevskii,

the son of a parish priest. He was a graduate of the Orthodox Spiritual Academy in St Petersburg. However they were not published, even though later this same person did publish other works in Cyrillic, which came out in St Petersburg.

One of the reasons for the tolerance of, or rather, indifference towards publications in Belarusian, primarily in Latin characters, on the part of the imperial authorities was the small number of such publications and the lack of any serious sign, in comparison with the Ukrainophiles in Little Russia, of the existence of a Belarusophile movement.

Indeed, Ukrainophile activity paid a "service" to Belarusian literature. In 1859, worried by attempts to spread publications in the Ukrainian language in the Latin alphabet among Ruthenians in Austrian Galicia, and by the spread of this literature within the Russian Empire, the authorities banned completely "the use of the Polish alphabet for the Russian language."[429] That same year the Vil'na Censorship Committee allowed the publication of *Pan Tadeusz* in a Belarusian translation by Dunin-Marcinkiewicz. Part of this work had already been published by the time local censors showed vigilance towards the "Belarusian dialect," which "formed part of the Russian language" and appealed to St Petersburg for guidance. Instructions came from the capital "not to allow the use of the Polish alphabet for publication of works in the Belarusian dialect." The name of the file opened on this account in the Main Censorship Administration, reveals the different status of these two languages in the eyes of Russian civil servants: On the Manuscript of *Pan Tadeusz* and the Application of the Prohibition on the Use of the Polish Alphabet for the Little-Russian Language and the Belarusian Dialect. "Little Russian" (Ukrainian) was a "language," while Belarusian was only a "dialect."[430]

The imperial authorities were not afraid of Belarusian literature as some kind of transmitter of the Belarusian national idea. Belarusian books in the Latin alphabet posed a threat because, according to officials, they strengthened Polish influence over Belarusian peasants.

This prohibition on Belarusian literature had quite sad consequences for Belarusian writing. After this ban the local Catholic intelligentsia virtually saw no sense in publishing books in Belarusian. This is what Dunin-Marcinkiewicz had to say on the subject:

> In our provinces, out of every hundred peasants there are probably ten, who can read Polish well, while on the other hand there is probably one in a thousand who knows Russian. So, after printing some

> Belarusian text in Russian characters they may confidently lock them away in a chest, for the upper class of society, which has at their disposal Russian, Polish, French and German literature, will not take a book meant for the simple folk into their hands, and, while the peasants might wish to read stories and tales written to improve their morals and attract them to learning, they do not know the Russian alphabet and are in no position to satisfy their desire.[431]

After this prohibition Belarusian books in the Latin alphabet were no longer published legally during the second half of the nineteenth century. Only in 1862 was some kind of success achieved in publishing a Belarusian primer in Warsaw (it may be that local censors thought it was written in Polish).

The situation regarding works in Cyrillic characters was more complex. At the beginning of the 1860s local officials, as we can see from more than one project drafted in Vilnius, viewed the "Belarusian dialect" as an important instrument for nationalising the peasantry, and for combating Belarusian books printed in "Polish characters," which were being spread among the peasants by local landowners.

At the beginning of 1862, most probably, after mutual agreement, Governor General Nazimov of Vil'na and VED Overseer Shirinskii-Shikhmatov put forward an idea to the central authorities for publishing a periodical publication (a journal or newspaper) for the ordinary people.[432] During discussions between 1862 and 1865 the format changed as did the title (*Drug naroda* [The People's Friend], later *Russkoe chtenie* [Russian Reading]), and the languages in which it was supposed to appear. The main point of interest for us is that in 1862 the possibility of using the "Belarusian dialect" was foreseen. In the VED Report for 1861 Shirinskii-Shikhmatov had proposed issuing a newspaper for "Žemaitijans in Žemaitijan and Russian, and for the Belarusians in their native tongue in the Russian alphabet, and in Russian." Although at first Nazimov spoke of a journal "in Russian, Lithuanian and Žemaitijan," later he specified that "it is enough to have two texts in the journal, namely "a Russian, or rather Belarusian one presented on paper in the local Ruthenian dialect in the Russian alphabet <…> and another in Žemaitijan in the Latin alphabet which has been adapted for this language."[433] A civil servant sent from St Petersburg, Shchebal'skii, regarded this possibility less positively. He was convinced that it was enough

> to adapt a purely Russian language to the local dialect by introducing a few local words and turns of phrase and one may write the local

> songs and legends, which will undoubtedly find their way into the proposed journal, as they are sung and told

because "there is no Belarusian literature, nor has there ever been any, and the artificial creation of a Belarusian literary language would be nothing more than doctrinaire vanity."[434] After the Uprising began a journal was planned for the Belarusians in Russian. Local officials were forced to justify themselves in the central press, saying that they had no thoughts of publishing such a journal in Belarusian, especially since the incumbent governor general of Vil'na, Murav'ev, did not acknowledge the Belarusians to be different from Russians in the ethno-cultural sense.[435]

Although 6,000 rubles was set aside at the beginning of 1863 by the Ministry of Education to publish this journal and a publishing programme was even drafted, after Murav'ev arrived in Vil'na the project for this journal no longer had so many ardent supporters as had been the case earlier. In autumn 1863 Murav'ev had decided, in fact, in favour of publishing this journal and had even invited Shchebal'skii to Vilnius as its future editor. Under the new VED overseer, Kornilov, work on preparing the journal continued but now there was only talk of publishing it in Russian. However, the authorities abandoned the project in April 1865 and the funding was transferred to meet the needs of primary education.[436] One of the main reasons given for this decision by the Western Committee and Murav'ev, was the undeveloped condition of the ordinary people.[437] The transfer of the publication of *Vestnik Zapadnoi Rossii* [Western Russian News] from Kiev to Vilnius in autumn 1864 could be regarded as an alternative to this journal, even though this newspaper was aimed at an educated audience.[438] The transfer may have been so connected because it could not have happened without the consent of the governor general of Vil'na and the editorial board even claimed that this move was carried out at Murav'ev's own request.[439] The local authorities may have seen another alternative course in the publication of *Kniga dlia chteniia* [The Reading Book] in a large Russian print run from 1863.

Not all such projects remained only on the drawing board. In 1863, most probably on Shirinskii-Shikhmatov's initiative, *Razskazy na belorusskom narechii* [Tales in the Belarusian Dialect] were published.[440] This small book of short tales was clearly intended to inculcate into Belarusians the thought they were Russian – "we should be called Russians, not Poles."[441] The VED overseer wished by publishing these stories to overcome Polish propagandists, who "constantly published books and brochures in that dialect in the Latin alphabet, telling the people that the language they speak

is a Polish dialect which cannot be printed in any other characters;" meanwhile, "we must show the peasants the convenience and possibility of publishing books in the local dialect in Russian characters."[442] It may be supposed that Shirinskii-Shikhmatov regarded the use of this language as solely a temporary measure. In October 1863 he issued an instruction for inspecting "people's schools," which required the collection of information about how pupils reacted to this book, and he also ordered that inspectors "promote the view that it was necessary to study Russian, which was the common language of all Russians, rather than the local dialect, which had no writing of its own and was suitable only for conversation among peasants."[443]

The idea of a periodical publication for ordinary people and the publication of *Razskazy na belorusskom narechii* show that in the early 1860s at least the local authorities did not see any serious dangers in "Belarusian-dialect" literature published in Cyrillic, and what is more they even attempted to make use of such literature to combat Polish influence. Belarusian publications in Cyrillic were regarded by the local authorities as an important instrument for neutralising the influence of literature in Belarusian printed in Latin characters, while at the same time preparing peasants to learn Russian.

When Murav'ev was appointed governor general and Kornilov became overseer (in 1864) attitudes to Belarusian publications changed. The criticism of *Razskazy na belorusskom narechii*, voiced by the new VED overseer, provides further evidence of this policy change.[444] In order to show the worthlessness and senselessness of such publications Kornilov quoted the apparent opinions of Belarusians, who, according to the overseer,

> not only viewed the appearance of their domestic language in the press with dissatisfaction and even distrust; they said directly that 'their speech was not literary,' thereby expressing their view that their simple, uncultivated tongue was not suitable for reading and study. However they listened to those very same stories with special attention and pleasure when they were told in Russian.[445]

However, even so there was no specific prohibition on the publication of Belarusian texts in Cyrillic. Official documents of the time do not mention such a ban. The local publisher and journalist, Kirkor, wrote in 1872 that it was possible to publish Belarusian and Lithuanian texts in Cyrillic.[446] It would be very strange if one of the first to publish Belarusian books, who was also the editor of the official newspaper, *Vilenskii Vestnik*, at the time of the Uprising, would be unaware of such a prohibition. At the end of the

nineteenth century, when the Vil'na censor was unresolved as to how to deal with Frantishek Bogushevich's *Belorusskie rasskazy Burachka* [Burachko's Belarusian Tales], he appealed to the Main Administration of Press Affairs, which means that he too had not been informed of any such ban.[447] However, on the other hand, the importance of latter fact should not be exaggerated. Sometimes information would "get lost" in the Russian bureaucratic machinery and in other cases it could be that it was simply more convenient to show such measures to be their own initiative. For example, in 1862, that is, three years after the afore-mentioned ban on publishing Belarusian texts in the "Polish alphabet," Governor General Nazimov proposed banning "the printing of Russian books in Latin characters."[448]

It may be supposed that the ban was not imposed simply because the imperial authorities regarded it to be superfluous. Interior Minister Valuev's circular of 18 July 1863 on the Prohibition of Publishing Books in Ukrainian, with the exception of "belles lettres" may have had an influence here.[449] In addition, none worried the authorities on this account – the Belarusians did not have a Piedmont of their own, like the Ukrainians had Austrian Galicia, and there were no intellectuals to write such books.

After the suppression of the Uprising of 1863–1864 only folk compositions "in the so-called Belarusian dialect" were printed with the censors' permission in the Western Province and the imperial capitals.[450] However, such attempts were not always crowned with success. According to the claims of Belarusian historians, in 1867 Dunin-Marcinkiewicz attempted to publish his poetry in Belarusian in Cyrillic in the *Vilenskii Vestnik*, but he was refused on the grounds that there was no use in trying to raise Belarusian to the level of a standard language.[451]

Such a situation with regard to Belarusian publications shows clearly that the imperial authorities regarded this language as a Russian dialect and therefore permitted the publication of popular literature in this language only in certain cases. The use of this language in speech was a more difficult matter. Another difference here, in comparison with printed texts, was that it was much more difficult for the imperial authorities to control the oral use of any language.

The Place of Belarusian in Primary Schools

One of the main arenas of the "fight for the soul of the people" was primary education. The language of instruction in "people's schools" was an object of public discussion after plans for new statutes for "people's schools" and general schools were drafted at the beginning of 1862. One draft provided

for instruction in the "national language" (Russian) in "people's schools." It was this point which came in for most detailed discussion in the opinions of educational establishments and certain public campaigners from the Lithuanian and Belarusian gubernias.[452] Many teachers' councils favoured "local languages" as the language of instruction in primary schools rather than Russian. Most often Lithuanian is what they had in mind in such cases, and some times Polish, and even German in one instance. The Teachers' Council of the Rossieny Gentry School proposed teaching in this language on the borders between Prussia and the Baltic Gubernias.[453] Such "tolerance" of "people's languages" was determined first and foremost by practical considerations.

Of course, there was no unanimity over this issue. One of the most zealous opponents of allowing the use of local languages, mostly Lithuanian, in "people's schools" were the director of the Sventsiany Grammar School, Aleksandr Kandidov, and two more teachers from that establishment, who highlighted the following circumstances, namely everyone in the Western Province knew Russian ("in their current relations with the Belarusian ethnic group in both towns and villages Lithuanians use the Belarusian dialect with ease"), the poverty of the Lithuanian language and the lack of political utility for such a move:

> primary education in local languages completely cuts the alien nationalities off from the rest of the national population; equally it deprives them of the ability and means to follow further education and incurs many other inconveniences.[454]

In this case it is clear that for men like Kandidov allowing Belarusian into "people's schools" would have been even more absurd.

Only teachers' councils from those educational institutions in the VED, which were in areas with a Lithuanian population expressed support in their opinions for allowing local languages into "people's schools."

The remarks of influential Lithuanian gentry regarding the above-mentioned projects, as in the case of Kandidov, also show a clear tendency to ignore the ethno-cultural distinctiveness of the local peasantry, that is, they recognised only Polish as the language of instruction in local schools.[455] The arguments in these instances were very simple: there everyone knew Polish, which could not be said about Russian, and moreover "no higher thought can be expressed in the forms of the language spoken here by peasants, since it has no literature."[456] Nevertheless, it may be supposed that the attitudes of at least some of the local gentry were more positive with

regard to teaching in Belarusian in “people’s schools.” This was not only because some of them, for example, the most loyal gentry leader, Aleksandr Domeiko, spoke out directly in favour of teaching in “people’s schools” “in the dialect which was most widespread in a given area.”[457] We may suppose that some of them detected a very simple choice in this case: either Russian or Polish. We are drawn to this conclusion from an analysis of the remarks made by Kirkor who also stood up in favour of teaching in Polish.[458] His main anxiety was the replacement of Russian by Polish in secondary schools. Also, although he was in favour of instruction in Polish in all schools, why did he propose publishing “textbooks or anthologies in Russian, Polish, Lithuanian and Žemaitijan, to meet the needs exclusively of the local area”? Of course, the local languages could be introduced as a separate subject into the curriculum of “people’s schools,” but, bearing in mind, that the number of subjects in such schools was kept to a minimum, from all of Kirkor’s activities at that time we can say that he was a supporter of teaching in local languages in primary schools. Admittedly, there was no mention of Belarusian textbooks here, but it is well known that Kirkor had planned a little earlier to publish books for the populace in this language.[459] Most probably the main reason why these plans could not come into fruition was the 1859 ban we noted earlier on “adapting the Polish alphabet for the Little Russian language and the Belarusian dialect.” Now it is easy to imagine Kirkor’s logic in this instance: for him Belarusian literature was feasible only in Latin characters and this had been banned. We may suppose that in such circumstances the local gentry may have interpreted the proposal to introduce Belarusian as the language of instruction in primary schools simply as the introduction of Russian. Moreover, Russian officials also indicated the readiness of the Mogilev gentry to cooperate in developing the education of the people only if it took place in the “Belarusian dialect.”[460]

All these remarks came to St Petersburg, where discussion continued in the Academic Committee of the Education Ministry and the Western Committee. In the capital at the end of 1862 the tendencies towards Russification had still not prevailed. This was because of the position taken by Education Minister Golovnin and also certain other high-ranking civil servants. We may suspect members of the Academic Committee of the Education Ministry even less of harbouring Russifying tendencies. Some of them, based on their knowledge of the language situation in the Western Province, proposed measures which would have consolidated the status of Polish even further, and along with that would have created very favourable conditions for the development of Belarusian: for Catholics the language of instruction was to be Polish “aided by the local dialect;” for the Orthodox it

was to be Church Slavonic, "using Russian letters with explanations in the local language," and later they could move on to Russian; for Lithuanians the languages of instruction were to be Lithuanian and Polish, beginning with the former.[461] At the beginning of December 1862, when the Academic Committee met, it was even better-inclined towards "local dialects." The Committee proposed that teaching should be carried out in "local dialects" in areas, where "the ordinary people speak a completely different language" (members had Lithuania and the Baltic Gubernias in mind). A similar principle was put forward for Belarus and Little Russia, where Catholics and Orthodox alike were to study in the local dialects and move over only gradually to the use of Russian.[462]

However, not all the measures were passed in the Academic Committee of the Education Ministry. At the turn of 1862–1863 the problems of popular education were discussed several times in the Western Committee also. The suspicion of "rebellion" forced the authorities to hurry. On the initiative of Interior Minister Valuev and with the approval of Alexander II the Western Committee passed a resolution on 17 January 1863 to draft separate Provisional Regulations for the Western Province.[463] The first draft of these rules apparently instructed that teaching in primary schools should be carried out in Russian, but for the time being "special dialects" were permitted at the beginning of studies "until pupils became sufficiently acquainted with the general written language."

While discussions were being held in St Petersburg, a decision already had to be made in the Lithuanian and Belarusian gubernias because as early as 18 January 1862 the Committee of Ministers had resolved to set up schools in the Western Province without waiting for school statutes to be drafted.[464] These schools began to be founded, predominantly in areas with a Belarusian population. The question of the language of instruction was no longer a theoretical one. Therefore local authorities were forced to take a stand on this issue without waiting for St Petersburg to draft its rules for the Western Province.

The metamorphoses which took place in the views of local officials are of particular interest in this regard. The problem of which language to use for Catholic religious instruction to Belarusians arose. VED Overseer Shirinskii-Shikhmatov proposed in his Report for 1861 that religious instruction be given in the Belarusian dialect.[465] He was still of the same opinion in April 1862.[466] However, at the end of that year his preference was for Russian. Admittedly, ideological motives probably had no dominance here, as, in the overseer's opinion, it would have been possible to introduce teaching in Belarusian too, but this would have led to difficulties because "there was no

[Belarusian] language which was common to all Belarusians."[467] All the same, in the first circular from the VED Administration for 12 January 1863 Shirinskii-Shikhmatov also provided for the use of "local dialects" alongside Russian in conversation with pupils.[468] During the "Rebellion" he came out firmly in favour of Russian.[469]

The views of Governor General Nazimov changed in apparently the opposite direction. While, as we have already noted, before the Uprising began he was in favour of teaching all subjects in Russian, at the beginning of February 1863 he proposed that religious instruction be given "in the local Belarusian language" in the Grodno Gubernia and the eastern part of the Vil'na Gubernia, where there was a "mixed population," that is, "with the exception of the inhabitants of towns and cities, the rest of the population speaks Belarusian and almost half of them belong to the Orthodox Church."[470] This should hardly be regarded as a change of view. Most probably Nazimov could not see a great difference between teaching this subject in Belarusian or Russian. This hypothesis is confirmed by several facts. First of all, in the document cited above the governor general showed that in this regard he shared the views of the district overseer, who, as we have already seen, had proposed introducing Russian at the turn of 1862–1863. Secondly, in this regard Nazimov proposed "distributing as large a number as possible of Russian primers, prayerbooks and the Gospel as published by the Bible Society among the rural Belarusian population." This means that for the governor general, the Belarusian language was most likely only necessary for the very first stages of teaching and his strategy remained the same, namely to replace Polish with Russian for the teaching of Catholic religious instruction. It is probable that his views were shared too by the overseer.

After further discussion, a new draft of Provisional Regulations was drawn up to allow once more the teaching of Catholic religious instruction for the Belarusian Catholic population in "the local dialect," which Lithuanian or Žemaitijan being used for the Lithuanian faithful.[471] The case of Catholic religious instruction did not change after this draft was discussed by the Western Committee and the Provisional Regulations confirmed by the tsar on 23 March 1863 retained the clause allowing this subject to be taught "in the local dialect."[472]

In this case much depended on how these rules were put into practice. Especially important here was the interpretation of the term "local dialect." From spring 1863 imperial policy in the NWP was in the hands of a new governor general: immediately after the Provisional Regulations were passed in May 1863 Nazimov was replaced in Vilnius by Murav'ev.

Discussion in the press shows that the Provisional Regulations really were regarded as being provisional. The Slavophile *Den'* newspaper campaigned in summer 1863 for rights to use the local Belarusian dialect, that is, for Belarusians to learn to read and write at the start in Belarusian and only after that, in Russian.[473]

So far we do not have enough evidence of the spread of Belarusian in primary schools at that time. Some sources indicate clearly that in the first half of the nineteenth century teachers could not avoid using the "Belarusian dialect" in primary education.[474] Even during further studies this language was used: in 1854 it was reported that in the Polotsk Cadet Corps "almost all young men of Belarusian parentage entering the service speak and write the local dialect after completing their course."[475] Therefore we should not be surprised by the fact that at the end of the 1850s Belarusian campaigners attempted to set up primary schools with Belarusian as the language of instruction.[476] The situation was similar in the 1860s too. Teachers were unable to avoid using the peasants' spoken language not only when teaching Catholic religion (and probably Orthodox religion too) but also in other circumstances.[477] The instruction issued in October 1863 by VED Overseer Shirinskii-Shikhmatov required teachers to ensure that Catholic children received religious instruction "in their native language, that is, Russian," but we may suppose that this did not counter his interpretation of the Provisional Regulations. We have already noted that most probably Nazimov and Shirinskii-Shikhmatov used Russian and Belarusian as synonyms. Another clause from the instruction leads us to the same conclusion. This requires that "attention be paid to the use of the local Belarusian dialect in schools in so far as it proves useful and necessary to allow it."[478] Later Russian officials acknowledged that at least in some places, for example, in the Vitebsk Gubernia "teachers must know the Belarusian dialect when they first meet their children," although "there is not the least use in teaching in the Belarusian dialect or publishing books for the ordinary people in it."[479]

The status of the Belarusian language in the dominant Russian discourse of the 1860s can be detected well in discussions of the possibility of using this language in supplementary Catholic services. There is considerable evidence to show that Belarusian was used alongside Polish in supplementary Catholic worship in areas inhabited by Belarusians.[480] We may dare suppose that this situation formed not because of any kind of Belarusophile convictions but simply out of necessity. As Dunin-Marcinkiewicz claimed, the Belarusians simply did not understand any other languages other than their local dialect. After the "Rebellion" began, on 12 April 1863, VED Overseer Shirinskii-Shikhmatov proposed that in areas where

there was a "Russian population" Polish should be replaced in supplementary Catholic services by the "local dialect."[481] Bearing in mind Shirinskii-Shikhmatov's views on allowing Belarusian into primary schools and the publication of *Razskazy na belorusskom narechii*, we may assert that in this case too Belarusian was regarded only as a temporary measure, which would pave the way for Russian.

The use of Belarusian in supplementary Catholic worship was discussed later in greater detail in the time of Governor General Kaufman. As mentioned above, at the end of 1865 the vicar general of the RC archbishopric of Mogilev, Bishop Staniewski, informed the authorities of the pleas of Catholic clergy in the Vitebsk and Mogilev gubernias to allow sermons to be preached in "the Belarusian language."[482] Without discussing the motives of the Catholic clergy, we should pay attention to the reaction of the authorities, especially the leadership of the Orthodox Churches in the empire's western gubernias. Although most Orthodox bishops supported the idea of driving Polish out of Catholic worship, none of them could see a reason for introducing Belarusian. It was claimed that Russian was understood by Belarusian peasants (and their Catholic priests too) and that Belarusian was "grammatically and philologically undeveloped" and hence suited only for "domestic agricultural usage." Moreover, the Belarusian language had "many Polish words and turns of phrase," which made it a tool in the hands of Polonisers:

> this language, which of itself is a dialect of the general Slavonic language, has been used since days of yore in the Western Province as an instrument of Roman propaganda in order to convert ordinary people to Catholicism and turn them into Poles.[483]

Thus, the most favourable conditions for the Belarusian language in primary education were created by members of the Academic Committee of the Education Ministry in December 1862, but this state of affairs was unacceptable in principle for many Russian officials, who not only supported the concept of a tripartite Russian Nation (which was the dominant view) but also were unprepared to acknowledge Belarusian culture, including the language, as even a sub-culture.

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In sum we may state that in the mid-nineteenth century a need was felt for Belarusian in books, worship and primary education. Local officials

acknowledged this in less ideological texts too. While before the mid-nineteenth century the functioning of Belarusian as a means of communication for peasants did not cause the imperial authorities any anxiety, this situation changed as of the beginning of the "Great Reforms." The institutionalisation of Belarusian (in school, the Catholic Church and so on) might have destroyed the so-called tripartite concept of the Russian Nation. Admittedly, at the beginning of the 1860s the local authorities, especially VED Overseer Shirinskii-Shikhmatov, attempted to exploit the "Belarusian dialect" (printed then only in Russian characters) in his anti-Polish policy, but after the "Rebellion" began and Murav'ev was appointed governor general, and Kornilov, overseer, this policy collapsed. Belarusianness was permitted in public discourse only as a regional variation of Russianness.

Conclusions

While at the very beginning of the 1860s bureaucrats within the Russian Empire and influential Slavophiles discussed various projects for a policy of "divide and rule," including support for the ethno-cultural strengthening of other non-dominant national groups (Ukrainians and Belarusians as well as Lithuanians) as a method of achieving their anti-Polish policy, after 1863 such projects were no longer of interest to the central authorities, or local officials in the NWP. The suppression of the 1863–1864 Uprising marks a sea change in Russian nationality policy and a move towards clearly expressed discrimination against non-Russians not only in Lithuania and Belarus but also in other western borderlands of the empire.

However, at the same time it should be stressed that many important measures in imperial policy, which were implemented post-1863, had been discussed even before the Uprising began and some had enjoyed the warm support of many imperial civil servants, including Governor General Nazimov of Vil'na.

The changes in nationality policy after the 1863–1864 Uprising were determined mostly by ethno-political motives. For the second time in forty years the Russian imperial authorities on the territory of the former Commonwealth of the Two Nations came up against not just any kind of demonstration of disloyalty, but an armed Uprising. After the previous Uprising the imperial Russian ruling-, and intellectual elites became ever more convinced that the Poles held collective responsibility for the actions of the "rebels" and so they were all to be punished. Being Catholic, Lithuanians could also be treated as Poles or at least "potential Poles" and thus also deserved special discriminatory treatment. At the same time both Vilnius and St Petersburg viewed Protestants if not as loyal subjects of the empire, then at least as "silent enemies," and different from the Poles, who were regarded as "open rebels" (Murav'ev). It is for this reason that a systematic Russification of Lutheran and Calvinist schools did not begin in the immediate wake of the Uprising, as in the Catholic case, but only in 1868, and the teaching of religious instruction in Russian in primary schools was certainly not introduced for members of these denominations before the mid-1870s. The practice of a certain tolerance of, or rather indifference towards either state-funded- or traditional Jewish schools and the non-application of the same drastic measures to Judaism as were applied to Catholicism were connected, among other things, with the conviction widely held by bureaucrats that Jews were neither sincerely loyal, nor enemies of the empire.

Another factor influencing the choice of nationality policy strategy was the increasing way in which more and more members of the ruling-, and

intellectual elites came to think in national categories in the mid-nineteenth century. In Russian discourse at that time the Western Province was regarded not only as a component part of the empire but as territory which was historically and ethnically Russian, where a Russian national project should be brought to fruition. The more a specific national group was regarded as being close to the Great Russians in an ethno-cultural sense, the less chance it would be granted any cultural autonomy. In this sense, in the NWP the Belarusians were granted least space for independent ethno-cultural development. They were regarded as a component part of the so-called tripartite Russian Nation. Most space was given to Jews, whose alien nature was of no doubt to anyone.

Finally the situation of one or other non-dominant national group depended very much on whether decisions concerning a specific nationality policy measure were taken in St Petersburg or Vilnius. In cases where such nationality policy measures affected only the NWP, or for example, only the Kovno Gubernia, and the central authorities in effect merely rubber-stamped decisions made locally, the local authorities often adopted quite radical Russification measures. This thesis may be illustrated by the introduction of Cyrillic into written Lithuanian and Latvian and the foundation of so-called "people's schools" in the Kovno Gubernia, where graduates from Orthodox seminaries, who did not know the local languages, were appointed to teach. Meanwhile in the case of the Jewish education system the local authorities could take the initiative, but they did not, if we set aside the Jewish "people's schools" founded by Murav'ev, take any strategic decisions. For example, almost as soon as the Uprising was suppressed VED Overseer Kornilov was inclined to close down state-funded Jewish schools, which had been set up in the 1840s but they were reformed only at the beginning of the 1870s, after a decision had been taken in St Petersburg.

The influence of international relations on nationality policy in the NWP was less relevant, but even so it could be noticed from time to time. The growth in Prussian power and especially Prussia's aim to unite the German lands in the 1860s and early 1870s aroused the fear of imperial bureaucrats and increased lack of trust in not only the Baltic Germans, who thitherto had been regarded as a faithful bulwark of the empire, but also the Jews, who were considered to be submitting to German influence.

However, the generalised reasons for this change in nationality policy do not mean, of course, that all links in the chain of imperial officialdom regarded the aims of nationality policy in Lithuania and Belarus in exactly the same way. Even when we study so brief a period as the 1860s and early 1870s we can see that imperial officials propagated different models of

nationality policy. Many influential VED officials, such as Kornilov, Novikov, Kulin and Shul'gin, and certain governors general (especially Kaufman) and their subordinates propagated radical nationality policy measures based on the ideology of ethno-cultural nationalism. These civil servants sought to assimilate non-dominant national groups, which could be so assimilated, while proposing a policy of segregation for those groups, which the empire's potential for assimilation could not overcome. Other officials in the NWP and also some of the ruling elite in St Petersburg gave priority to a traditional model of nationality policy, according to which the political loyalty of the empire's subjects, primarily the gentry, was supposed to guarantee territorial integrity and stability. Thus officials, who favoured the conservative concept, did not view the ethnic affiliation of the empire's subjects as the basic criterion for assessing their loyalty or lack of it. We find reflections of this nationality policy in the actions of Governor General Murav'ev of Vil'na, even though elements of ethno-cultural nationalism were also a feature of his political manifesto, and in those of Interior Minister Valuev or Governor General Potapov of Vil'na. The nationality policy fostered by the latter two members of the imperial ruling elite sought first and foremost the integration of other national groups, even though we can also see elements of assimilation policy in their political manifestos.

The existence of various nationality policy strategies is proven by the fact that officials had different views of what territory should be subordinate to the governor general of Vil'na. The optimistic strategy, which was typical of the 1863–1865 period in particular, sought to bring as large an area as possible under the jurisdiction of the governor general, for it was believed that this would lead to a successful Russification policy. Representatives of the pessimistic strategy, which came to dominate from the end of the 1860s, did not believe that Vilnius could be transformed from being a Polish centre into becoming a Russian one, and that the so-called Lithuanian gubernias could not become Russian, and so the area subject to the governor general of Vil'na was reduced.

In this way this research rejects the concepts of those historians, who are inclined to portray Russian imperial nationality policy as a monolithic mechanism with unchanging aims which, to put it bluntly, sought to assimilate members of other national groups. However, at the same time our study does not support another radical interpretation, which claims that what we call the nationality policy of the Romanov Empire was only a response from the authorities to "challenges" thrown down by members of other national groups. If we compare Russian policy towards non-dominant national groups with other polyethnic states, we see that there is nothing special in the

Russian case. The Habsburg authorities, for example, balanced continually in the nineteenth century on a tightrope between traditional policy based on alliance with the borderland elites (the Poles in Galicia) and attempts to weaken the position of such elites by supporting weaker national groups (such as the Ruthenians against the Poles in Galicia). In the Soviet Union, as we know, the indigenisation policy [*korenizatsiia*] pursued in the 1920s was abandoned in the 1930s, when priority came to be given to Russianness as the guarantor of state integrity, but even this policy was not pursued with any consistency, since by the second half of the 1950s the central authorities were returning to the protection of non-Russian cultures and "national nomenklatura" in the Soviet republics. Meanwhile, the policy begun by the Russian Empire in the NWP after 1863 was maintained in effect until the 1905 Revolution, despite the fact that the ethno-political views of local and even central officials differed. It was only possible to discover the aims of this policy as a result of consistent study of several problems.

Without a doubt it is important to explain how the Russian imperial authorities formulated the aims of their nationality policy in Lithuania and Belarus both publicly and in private. It emerged that after the 1863–1864 Uprising was suppressed, "Russification of the province" became an inseparable and very important part of normative discourse. The multiplicity of meanings held by the term Russification has become clearer: it could mean assimilation, acculturation and integration. However, officials themselves were loth to write of Russiffying other nations, since some of them thought that this term was politically incorrect by analogy with Polonisation.

Therefore, alongside explanations of what the term Russification meant in Russian discourse at that time it was necessary to show how imperial officials conceived of nationality. A detailed analysis of various nationality policy measures has revealed various concepts of nationality. Despite the fact that official discourse avoided identifying nationality with religion, when discriminatory policy was put into practice, religious affiliation was the most important criterion for determining the nationality of the gentry and urban population, whereby being a Catholic meant being a Pole. Judaism was the most important criterion for identifying who was a Jew. When the matter of the national affiliation of peasants was being discussed, the dominant view in official discourse was that ethnic origin and language were the most important national denominator, although there were also many officials, especially in the VED administration, who gave priority to religion and so Catholic peasants were regarded often as "potential Poles," if not as Poles *tout court*.

Since officials in the mid-nineteenth century regarded language and, primarily, religion as the most important criteria for determining nationality, we were interested in the measures taken by Russian imperial nationality policy which affected these two areas of national identity. An analysis of confessional and language policy in the NWP in the 1860s and early 1870s allows us to show that the authorities sought different aims with regard to different non-dominant national groups.

Despite the resonant demands of Governor General Kaufman that the Poles immediately become Russian, discriminatory policy in practice shows that officials had no faith in their ability to assimilate this national group with its deep historical traditions. The driving of Polish out of educational establishments, the bans on publishing, importing and distributing books in Polish, which were designed for the lower classes, and other such measures were supposed to protect ordinary people from Polonisation. No hope of success was held out by officials for trying to make Russian the mother tongue of the Catholic gentry and townsfolk in the near future at least. Legislation regulating disposal of private land and especially the application of such laws in practice show clearly that the process of turning a Pole into Russian was regarded as a longterm task, which began with the most important stage, namely conversion to Orthodoxy. Lack of trust in Polish converts to Orthodoxy, for example, ex-Catholic priests, shows that in this case the threshold for "rejected Russification" was quite high. Thus there could be hope for successful results from assimilation only in future generations and the scale of this depended on the number of Polish converts to Orthodoxy. However, officials did not believe there would be mass conversions of Poles. Because officials did not believe they could assimilate the Poles, it only remained for them, according to the ideology of ethno-cultural nationalism, to follow a policy of segregation, which is best symbolised by the imposition of a *numerus clausus* in Russian educational establishments. The lack of confidence that Poles could be turned into Russians is shown also by the attempts to drive Polish landowners out of the Western Province.

We can discern some analogies between the policy towards Poles and that towards the Jews. Some measures implemented or just planned by the local authorities in the NWP may seem to be an apparent aim for total assimilation. For example, there was the instruction that all Jewish boys learn Russian, or Kaufman's attempts to ban Yiddish publications. Indeed, many NWP officials cherished the hope that Russian would easily become the Jewish mother tongue because their "jargon" (Yiddish!) had no future, while Hebrew would remain a dead language, that is, a written language understood solely by rabbis. However, in the Jewish case we can talk of assimilation only

when there were attempts to convert them to Russian Orthodoxy. Although certain NWP officials would have welcomed the conversion of at least some Jews to Russian Orthodoxy and their becoming Russians, and the authorities did not abandon entirely their aims to have a "positive effect" on Judaism and reduce Jewish "fanaticism," they did not seek mass Jewish conversions in the 1860s and the possibility of such a move was not even discussed. The implementation of a more intensive policy of acculturation in the NWP after the 1863–1864 Uprising did not resolve the Jewish Question; it merely exacerbated it. Since supporters of both the religious and linguistic concepts of nationality understood that the aim of assimilating the Jews was neither feasible nor desirable, officials, especially those who worked in the VED, began to consider the possibility of implementing a policy of segregation more and more. The imperial authorities turned towards such a policy to solve the Jewish Question in the 1880s.

In the case of the Lithuanians we can detect several ethno-political strategies. Certain officials sought along with the influential Slavophile, Hil'ferding, to implement a so-called depolonisation policy. One of the measures for effecting this policy was the introduction of Cyrillic into written Lithuanian, which came to be discussed intensively early in 1864. This way it was hoped that not only might Lithuanians be protected from Polonisation but also their written culture could be helped to develop (using Cyrillic now instead of the Latin alphabet) and thus the public functions of the language might be extended. Just such a policy was followed in areas of the Kingdom of Poland, inhabited by Lithuanians, after the Uprising of 1863–1864. However, other civil servants, mostly influential VED officials, held that while the Lithuanians remained Catholic they were "potential Poles." Since they were regarded as fanatics with regard to religion, a mass attempt to convert Catholic peasants to Orthodoxy in the mid-1860s did not affect them. Lithuanians would have become Orthodox, if the imperial authorities had followed a plan to unite the Churches, which was initiated by several local campaigners, some of whom were Catholic. However, the plan for implementing this was not even begun to be discussed in detail. One of the probable reasons for abandoning this plan was the fear that an attempt to abolish the Catholic Church would arouse the great dissatisfaction not only of the Polish-speaking gentry but also of the peasantry, and that this might take on radical forms. Therefore, the supporters of ethno-cultural nationalism selected a different ethno-political strategy. VED officials, who were entrusted from 1864 with setting up "people's schools" in the Kovno Gubernia, and transliterating written Lithuanian into Cyrillic and banning the traditional Latin and Gothic alphabets, viewed this measure differently from Hil'ferding

and his companions. Novikov and other education officials needed the introduction of writing Lithuanian in Cyrillic not for Lithuanians to foster their written culture but for them to learn Russian more easily. Admittedly, this nationality policy measure could of itself have been viewed as assimilation only by imperial officials who regarded language as the main criterion for determining peasant nationality. Meanwhile, most VED officials were supporters of the religious denominator for nationality. In various nineteenth-century sources we come across information as to how close there was a link between one alphabet or another and a specific religious denomination (the Latin alphabet was associated with Catholicism, Gothic with Protestantism and Cyrillic with Orthodoxy). In other words, alphabet change was conceived of as a preparatory stage to a change in religion. Novikov did not disguise this aim too much. Thus using Cyrillic in written Lithuanian was viewed by some officials as an instrument for Lithuanian acculturation, after which assimilation was not essential; while others viewed it as a preliminary step towards assimilation.

According to the view dominant in Russian discourse at that time, Belarusians were Russians. The imperial authorities attempted to put this ideological view into practice. In language policy this was done quite consistently. The imperial authorities banned not only the use of Latin characters to record Belarusian in 1859 but also in effect allowed no publications in this language after the Uprising, even though no formal prohibition as such existed. Officially the authorities did not tolerate the public functioning of Belarusian. It was not used in primary schools, the worship of various religious communities, or elsewhere. There were more fluctuations in confessional policy. In this area the local NWP authorities also sought to implement an assimilation programme, especially in 1865–1867. Some local officials had a vision of Belarusian Catholics' converting swiftly to Orthodoxy. However, not all members of the ruling elite supported radical and often brutal measures in confessional policy also because they were afraid of a new "rebellion" or new social theories which might develop where indifference reigned. What is more there was a shortage of funds for pursuing a consistent policy. Thus even in the Belarusian case the imperial authorities could not follow a consistent policy of assimilation.

The discussion presented in this study of various aspects of imperial policy has revealed one more important matter. When adopting policy measures from what appear to be the same nationality policy, such as the introduction of Cyrillic into various written languages and/or the prohibition of traditional alphabets, or the use of Russian in the worship of non-Orthodox confessions, the imperial authorities were not necessarily always following

the same aims. The use of Cyrillic in Polish books was supposed to lead to the acculturation of the Poles and the depoliticisation of their national consciousness; in the case of written Lithuanian we immediately see two strategies, *viz*. to depolonise and assimilate the Lithuanians; written Belarusian and Ukrainian were supposed to cease to exist altogether. It was similar in the case of using Russian in the worship of those of non-Orthodox confessions. While the editor of *Moskovskie vedomosti*, Katkov, saw the introduction of Russian into Catholic churches, as in the affairs of other confessional groups, as a means to consolidate the position of Russian in the life of people of other religions, many supporters of this measures in the NWP viewed it as necessary in order to convert Catholics to Orthodoxy. These officials considered that it would not be so easy to convert Catholic peasants to Orthodoxy, especially *in corpore*, and so they had to select gradual Russification measures. First of all, Russian had to be introduced in to supplementary Catholic worship and this would facilitate conversion to Orthodoxy in the future. At the same time neither officials not the *Maskilim* treated the use of Russian for sermons or the translation of Jewish religious books as means to convert these people to Orthodoxy. In this case it was supposed to aid the spread of Russian among the Jews.

When considering which aims were followed by Russian nationality policy a temptation arises to consider other problems connected with the efficiency of this policy. While realising clearly that this question of effectiveness is indeed connected with the problem of the aims of imperial nationality policy as analysed in this book, we could not discuss this issue in detail first and foremost because we can assess the effectiveness of the authorities' policy only if, when analysing specific nationality policy measures, we also examine the processes which were taking place within the non-dominant national groups, that is, the origin, evolution and dissemination of their national idea or ideas and so forth. Nevertheless, this study does allow us to formulate a few remarks, which, of course, are rather hypothetical in this case. There can be no serious doubt that the imperial authorities did not achieve many of the policy aims, which they outlined after the 1863–1864 "Rebellion." In the eyes of the authorities at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the Poles continued to dominate Lithuania and Belarus in the realms of civilisation and culture, and for that reason no Russian university was established there, nor was any *zemstvo* established in the Vil'na, Kovno and Grodno gubernias. The so-called depolonisation policy in certain cases led to contrary results. Attempts to introduce Russian into supplementary Catholic services strengthened the links between Catholicism and Polonicity, which together with the elimination of Lithuanian from public life, led to the Polonisation of

Catholic peasants. The authorities' assimilation policy with regard to the Belarusians did halt the formation of a modern Belarusian nation. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the twentieth century it was already possible to cast doubts on the likelihood that the model of the so-called tripartite Russian Nation would prevail. The process of acculturating the Jews gathered speed only when the authorities began to debate and then implement (as of the 1880s) a segregatory policy, which gave considerable impetus to the radicalisation of the Jewish political movement.

Thus, one more temptation naturally arises, namely to discuss whether a different nationality policy on the part of the authorities could have had more success. In this case we will discuss just one episode. As has been noted, many educated Lithuanian and Catholic priests, and as far as we can tell from available sources, peasants too, regarded the Cyrillicisation of written Lithuanian at first in a positive light or at least did not see any great danger in it. After VED officials began to implement this nationality policy measure and work began on transliterating not only secular literature but also religious books, and changing their content, and the traditional alphabets were outlawed, the authorities came up against organised opposition. Thus an hypothesis naturally forms to the effect that the Russian authorities could have achieved better results in adapting Cyrillic to written Lithuanian if Hil'ferding's more cautious policy had been followed, and, for a while at least, religious books had not been touched. Then, most probably, the authorities would not have aroused such opposition from the Catholic clergy; there would have been a certain demand for secular literature in Cyrillic characters; and Lithuanians in the cultural sense, especially the less devout, would have submitted to Russian influence. This, of course, does not mean that such a more subtle policy alone would have been enough to cause the rejection of the traditional alphabet. Such a rejection would have been inconceivable for as long as Lithuanians remained Catholic.

Notes

Introduction

[1] The names of towns and cities are written in the following way. When towns are mentioned in the text as geographical entities, the current form is used (e. g. Vilnius); when urban names feature as part of nineteenth-century institutions, the nineteenth-century Russian form is given (the Vil'na Gubernia, the Kovno Gubernia).

[2] Vyšniauskas, 1991, 90–93; Weeks, 1999, 551–564.

[3] The term nationality policy was used at that time too – see N. Novikov's article "From Kaunas," addressed to *Moskovskie vedomosti* (1866), Otdel rukopisei Rossiiskoi natsional'noi biblioteki [Manuscript Division of the Russian National Library; henceforth – OR RNB], f. 523, d. 504, l. 1.

[4] Miller, 2006b, 58–59.

[5] Nathans, 2002, 11.

[6] See earlier articles on this topic – Staliūnas, 2002c, 365–390; Staliūnas, 2004d, 63–72; Staliūnas, 2006g, 533–552.

[7] Studies of the Jewish Question, which we know mainly from English-language literature are dealt with in the Western Historians section below.

[8] Šapoka, 1936, 474–475, 515; Alekna, 1918, 123.

[9] Alekna, 1918, 115–121. For the same interpretation, see Ruseckas, 1929, 5–6.

[10] Nowak, 2006, 429.

[11] Sel'vestrova-Kul', 1996, 8.

[12] Šležas, 1929.

[13] Šležas, 1933, 39–40. For the same interpretation, see Klimas, 1920.

[14] Tumas, 1929.

[15] Biržiška, 1929, 249.

[16] Martin, 2001, 432–461.

[17] There have already been studies of how the "friendship of nations" ideologem was applied to Lithuanian history during the Soviet period: Staliūnas, 2005a, 65–78. Even so, it was quite difficult to write consistent histories, beginning with primitive social communities and ending with the present day, not only in Lithuania and other Soviet Republics, but also in People's Poland: Lindner, 2001, 205; Valkenier, 1985, 666.

[18] Paleckis, 1959, 19; Žiugžda, 1951, 5–6; Žiugžda, 1953, 356–358; Jablonskis, Jurginis, Žiugžda, 1957, 384; Žiugžda, 1958, 125–126.

[19] Berlinskienė, Gaigalaitė, Jurginis, Pilkauskas, 1962, 28.

[20] Jurginis, 1957. This historian also wrote the section of part one of a much broader History of Soviet Lithuania published that same year and devoted to the nineteenth century, where he noted the nationality issue

alongside economic benefits. However, it is most likely that the editor-in-chief of the volume, Juozas Žiugžda, who was much more dogmatic, had a great influence on the broader version.

[21] See the work of Sergei Tokt' for an analysis of such studies: Tokt', 2006, 506, 524, 527.

[22] When Jews were mentioned, it was only in brief and when talking of social structures, for example: "the Jews comprised a separate stratum of the urban class": Jučas, Lukšaitė, Merkys, 1988, 111.

[23] Žiugžda, 1958, 129–130.

[24] Jurginis, Merkys, Žiugžda, 1963, 201.

[25] Vėbra, 1968.

[26] Jurginis, 1957, 73.

[27] Vėbra, 1968.

[28] Žiugžda, 1958, 192–195. Admittedly, it was also noted that other nations suffered as a result of "national pressure" but no specific facts were given. In the larger history of Soviet Lithuania it was noted that the authorities only disguised themselves as combating the Poles, when in fact the most important aim was to repress Lithuanian culture. Thus, like it or not, it was noted that the Polish language was also removed from the school room: Jurginis, Merkys, Žiugžda, 1963, 200–201.

[29] Merkys, 1965, 58–60.

[30] Jučas, Lukšaitė, Merkys, 1988, 137, 139, 143–144.

[31] Tyla, 1967, 171–174; Tyla, 1973; Vėbra, 1976, 34–50; Merkys, 1978. Apart from works devoted to the use of Cyrillic in Lithuanian texts, other studies dealt with nationality policy, such as Meilė Lukšienė's study of educational institutions in the first half of the nineteenth century: Lukšienė, 1970.

[32] There is the infamous case of Antanas Tyla's 1973 publication *Lietuvių spaudos draudimo panaikinimo byla*, which could be acquired only with the permission of the director of the Institute of History of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences.

[33] In Soviet Belarusian history the most solid studies dealt with the nineteenth century: Tokt', 2006, 504.

[34] This increase in research, strange as it may seem, is not due to an increase in access to archives. After the Russian State Historical Archive [Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv; henceforth – RGIA] closed for reconstruction, such work has become more difficult as access to archival material has become even more arduous than in previous times.

[35] Tyla, 1991; Merkys, 1994a; Merkys, 1994b; Vėbra, 1996.

[36] Vidmantas, 1995, 123–124; Merkys, 1999; Prašmantaitė, 2000; Šenavičienė, 2005; Žaltauskaitė, 2002, 197–213; Žaltauskaitė, 2003, 213–228. The same tendency is noticeable in Belarusian studies: Navicki, 1998, Piatchyts, 2000, 327–350; Janouskaia, 2002; Filatova, 2006. Interest in religious themes is common to historians in other parts of central Europe. There is even talk of a "religious turn" in this region's historical writing: Steinhoff, 2004, 549.

[37] Vėbra continued the earlier tradition of viewing Russian nationality policy as bent on assimilation from the very incorporation of Lithuania into the Russian Empire most clearly of all. Although he saw different official approaches to the methods taken by nationality policy, he regarded them as merely tactical manoeuvres. Admittedly, we should note that his 1990 book, *Lietuvių visuomenė XIX a. antrojoje pusėje. Socialinės struktūros bruožai* [Lithuanian society in the second half of the nineteenth century: aspects of social structure] was written in Soviet times, as we can tell from the marxist quotations. We find the same assessment of nationality policy aims in the work of the emigrant Pranas Čepėnas: Čepėnas, 1977; Čepėnas, 1986. Vytautas Merkys appears to give the same assessment while trying very much not to provide any generalisations, but the explanation he gives shows that this author had a broader understanding of the term: "the Russification of Lithuania began immediately after the country was annexed by the Russian Empire, when a Russian administration was formed, Russian laws were introduced and the influence of the Orthodox state religion and the Orthodox Church was strengthened. However, at that time these tools of Russification had slight effect on the Lithuanian nation and were not seeking that aim": Merkys, 1994b, 9. There is a similar judgement in another book: "Denationalisation" was set as an aim of Russian policy after the 1863–1864 Uprising: Merkys, 1999, 782. Admittedly, in Merkys' later work it is more difficult to distinguish him from Vėbra: "the political agent of the Russian Empire – the tsar or emperor – relied on two main factors to consolidate the state, namely one ancient sacral, mediaeval factor, the Orthodox Church, and one nationalist modern factor, the hegemony of the Russian nation <...> In the nineteenth century forced conversions to Orthodoxy and Russification became the official domestic policy of the Romanov dynasty": Merkys, 2002b, 33. There are similar tendencies in Belarusian historical writing: Szybieka, 2002, 24.

[38] Aleksandravičius, Kulakauskas, 1996, 217.

[39] For more on this topic, see Staliūnas, 2005b, 311–331.

[40] Here we can note that in Belarusian scholarship the ethnographic principle still persists – Belarusian historians of the nineteenth century study

areas where the population was ethnically Belarusian. Looking further into the mental map of historians we can see that Polish historians use quite anachronistic terms like *kresy* [borderlands] when dealing with ethnic Lithuanian, Belarusian and Ukrainian territories in their research and even the titles of their books (Zasztowt, 1997). Whether the historian wishes it or not, the use of this term when analysing imperial nationality policy or similar problems presupposes the view that these territories form part of the Polish borderlands.

[41] Bairašauskaitė, 1996; Sirutavičius, Staliūnas, 2004; Sirutavičius, Staliūnas, 2005.

[42] Aleksandravičius, Kulakauskas, 1996, 67–68. This is well illustrated by studies of Russian censorship: Medišauskienė, 1998.

[43] Aleksandravičius, Kulakauskas, 1996, 72.

[44] Ibid., 53, 82–83, 92.

[45] Kulakauskas, 1999, 211; Kulakauskas, 2000, 6.

[46] Smalianchuk, 2004, 114; *Historyia Belarusi*, vol. 4, 2005, 243, 270.

[47] The Polish historian, Leszek Zasztowt has drawn attention to this aspect. He has researched Russian education policy in the Western Province between 1832 and 1864 in depth: Zasztowt, 1997, 247–249.

[48] Tereshkovich, 2004, 140. In this case the Belarusian historian is not at all dismayed by the fact that the imperial authorities tolerated Belarusianness only as a form of Russianness and that only under certain circumstances.

[49] For more on this topic, see – Nowak, 2006, 429–464.

[50] Głębocki, 2000. Głębocki considers that the Slavophile proposals, primarily those of Aleksandr Hil'ferding, to support the spread of Lithuanian, Belarusian and Ukrainian culture were a temporary measure in the battle with the Poles, while the main aim was Russification: Głębocki, 2005, 135–166. See also Głębocki, 2006.

[51] Rodkiewicz, 1998.

[52] Pearson, 1989, 88; Raeff, 1994, 127; Semenov, 2004, 613–614.

[53] Thaden, 1990, 211.

[54] Starr, 1978, 22.

[55] Pistohlkors, 1984, 592–606.

[56] Thaden, 1981, 8–9; Thaden, 1990, 211–220.

[57] Kappeler, 2000b, 9.

[58] The first position is represented by Kappeler: ibid., 22; the second, by Miller: Miller, 2004a, 5–26; Miller, 2006b, 28–32.

[59] Gerasimov, Glebov, Kaplunovskii, Mogil'ner, Semenov, 2004, 7–29.

[60] Hosking, 1998, 19–34; Hosking, 2000; Simon, 1999, 7; Rowley, 2000, 23–42.

[61] Miller, 2001, 258; Miller, 2004b, 265–270; Miller, 2004a, 23.
[62] Pearson, 1989, 89–90.
[63] Hosking, 2000, 399.
[64] Kappeler, 2000a, 71; Snyder, 2003, 49.
[65] Matsuzato, 2004, 427–458, quotations – 429.
[66] Kappeler, 1992a. English translation – Kappeler, 2001.
[67] Kappeler, 1982, 159–183; Kappeler, 1992a, 203–204, 225–228.
[68] Kappeler, 1997, 125–144.
[69] Weeks, 1996, 17.
[70] Ibid., 69.
[71] Ibid., 13.
[72] Weeks, 2001d, 96–114; Weeks, 2001b, 68–84.
[73] Komzolova, 2005b, 172. This book, based on archival holdings from only the central institutions, describes in detail certain nationality policy measures in the NWP, but we should also note that the author had little chance to discuss the implementation of nationality policy without knowledge of local archives.
[74] Miller, 2002, 133–148; Miller, 2006b, 54–77. We should also note this author's book about Russian policy towards the Ukrainians, which shows convincingly the nationalisation of the empire's ruling elite; namely how the so-called tripartite Russian nation project had an influence on nationality policy: Miller, 2000.
[75] Pearson, 1989, 89–90; Lieven, 2002, 275; Weeks, 2006, 27–44, esp. 27.
[76] Gorizontov, 1999.
[77] Dolbilov, 2004c, 245–271. Dolbilov has published many articles devoted to Russian nationality policy in the NWP, on which we will rely and which we will discuss in later chapters. We should make particular reference to Dolbilov's contribution in a very recent multi-authored monograph which discusses in detail the status of lands from the former Commonwealth of the Two Nations within the Russian Empire: Dolbilov, Miller, 2006.
[78] Werth, 2006a.
[79] There are many "revisionist" works on this subject: Aronson, 1975, 1–18; Stanislawski, 1983; Rogger, 1986; Klier, 1986a, 96–110; Klier, 1986b; Klier, 1989, 121–144; Klier, 1993, 179–196; Klier, 1995; Klier, 2001, 92–112; Hildermeier, 1984, 321–357; Liszkowski, 1998, 315–336; Weeks, 1998. We have published a broader discussion of studies of the Jewish Question elsewhere: Staliūnas, 2002d, 135–150.
[80] Kappeler, 1992a, 203, 227; Hosking, 1998, 28–29; Golczewski, Pickhan, 1998, 50.

[81] Historians are accustomed to differentiating between the imperial patriotism propagated by the authorities and Russian popular nationalism. Researchers note that the ideology of Russian popular nationalism, or rather its various versions, developed an increasing influence over the authorities in the course of the nineteenth century, but the ruling elite gave priority until the last days of the empire to imperial ideology. The authorities regarded modern nationalism with caution also because in effect it demanded a change in sovereign from the emperor to the nation. As Ronald Suny has remarked incisively: "According to the official scenario the people loved the tsar, but did not sanction or legitimise his right to monarchic power": Suny, 2001, 56. Other authors have also written about this ideological differentiation: Kappeler, 1990, 19–35; Miller, 2000, 11; Weeks, 2001a, 411–432; Renner, 2003, 659–82, esp. 663.

[82] Miller, 2001, 260; Renner, 2000, 185–273.

[83] Maiorova, 2005, 501–534.

[84] Renner, 2000, 102–117; Maiorova, 2005, 501.

[85] Kappeler, 1992a, 228; Miller, 2004a, 18–19.

[86] Kappeler, 1992a, 226.

[87] Dolbilov, 2004b, 111–137.

[88] It should be noted that we do not know of a single study of policy in the NWP which attempts to cover all possible aspects of nationality policy.

[89] Here we will provide one quotation showing how this word was used. "To be a 'true Russian subject' and be 'Russian at heart' are not the same thing: the first derives from the second, but the second does not always follow on from the first. Only a Real Russian can be 'Russian at heart', that is a person who is Russian by ethnicity [*plemia*], language and the nation to which he belongs by birth, by family, national and social upbringing, by confession of the Orthodox Faith, by life and customs and hence, where the state is concerned, by his natural and lawful status as a Russian subject. Any alien [*inorodets*], independent of ethnicity, national language, confession and way of life can be a 'true Russian subject' so long as he observes faithfully his oath as a subject": Opinion of A. Bessonov on Jewish Question, 8 August 1865, Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas [Lithuanian State Historical Archives, Vilnius; henceforth – LVIA], f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1204, l. 15. We came across the same meaning of this term in other documents: comments of the overseer of the Vil'na Education District [*Vilenskii uchebnyi okrug*; furthermore –VED] on report related to Jewish education, 1867, RGIA, f. 970, op. 1, d. 447, l. 41; "Vil'na," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1866, no. 265. Thus in official and public discourse by the 1860s the term *inorodets* was applied to all non-Russians and it did not necessarily have a pejorative sense; this

means we cast doubt on the claim by John W. Slocum that this term began to be used in this sense only at the beginning of the twentieth century: Slocum, 1998, 173–190.

[90] Other historians use this term: Hroch, 1994, 39–52; Kappeler, 1992b, 105–131.

[91] On this criticism, see Miller, 2006b, 152.

[92] Similar terms were used in Russian discourse at the time, for example: *gospodstvuiushchaia narodnost'* or "ruling nationality": "Pis'ma v redaktsiu o sovremennykh voprosakh (Pis'mo vtoroe)," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1865, no. 142.

[93] Miller, 2001, 261.

[94] Vulpius, 2005b, 30–33.

[95] Griškaitė, 1996, 11–170; Medišauskienė, 1999, 12–18; Staliūnas, 2001, 310–325.

[96] Subačius, 1997, 125–148.

[97] Kulakauskas, 1990, 132–142.The Czech historian deliberately linked this phase in the Lithuanian National Movement with the appearance of the *Aušra* imprint: Hroch, 1968, 64–71.

[98] Radzik, 1995, 195–227.

[99] *Historyia*, 2005, 42–48; Szybieka, 2002, 87–94.

[100] *Historyia*, 2005, 243.

[101] Radzik, 1995, 217; Tereshkovich, 2004, 73–75. For Dunin-Marcinkiewicz as the father of Belarusian literature, see Łaniec, 1997, 150

[102] Vakar, 1956, 72; Tereshkovich, 2004, 81–82.

[103] Tereshkovich, 2004, 127–134, *Historyia*, 2005, 46.

[104] Mark, 1994, 493–509, esp. 507.

[105] In the mid-nineteenth century it would be more correct to speak of a continuum within the Belarusian dialects, but for the sake of convenience we will use the term Belarusian language.

[106] Admittedly, Jewish integration into Russian society was not fully fledged for a variety of reasons (use of language, the existence of the Pale of Settlement, official discriminatory policy, the special nature of Polish Jewry). "Russian Jewry could *only* be characterised as 'Russian' insofar as it was a Jewry that *pertained to Russia as a geopolitical entity*" and the situation changed more radically only in 1917 when "the regime that took power at that time promulgated full civil equality for Jews, opening the way to a wider civic 'belonging,' to the possibility of feeling oneself to be not merely 'in' Russia or subject 'to' Russia, but to be actually 'of' Russia": Lederhendler, 1995, 15–27, quotations – 25, 26.

[107] Lederhendler, 1989, 133–142.

[108] Klier, 2004, 5–15.

[109] Lederhendler, 1989, 146.

I. Administrative Boundaries and Nationality Policy

[1] Slezkine, 1994, 414–452; Martin, 2001.

[2] It was precisely this motive, i.e. a reluctance to themselves promote the development of various nationalisms, at the turn of the twentieth century that prevented the replacement of the administrative jurisdiction of the Suvalki Gubernia, where the Lithuanians constituted the majority of population, i.e. to transfer them from the jurisdiction of the Warsaw governor general to that of the Vil'na governor general. This proposal was based on various arguments including the ethnic composition of the population of Suvalki Gubernia. In other words, some officials thought that all the Russian Empire's Lithuanians should end up in one administrative unit. It was precisely this prospect which frightened Warsaw governor general Aleksandr Imeretinskii: "the government, by artificially creating special ethnographical units and grouping administrative centres according to nationality, would only stress the existence of separate nations on a state level and contradict the tsar's mandates, by which Russian state interests are protected": secret report from the governor general of Warsaw to the interior minister, 4 January 1899, RGIA, f. 1284, op. 185, 1898, d. 55, l. 8.

[3] See earlier work on this topic – Staliūnas, 2006a, 222–243.

[4] Admittedly, certain new governor generalships were created between the middle of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Much research has been published on this issue in recent years: Weeks, 1996, 172–192; Remnev, 1997, 52–66; Remnev, 2004, 286–319; Gorizontov, 1999, 58–59; Cherkesov, 2001.

[5] At first the governor general of Vil'na administered two gubernias – those of Slonim and Vil'na, which were combined in 1797 to form the Lithuanian Gubernia, and in 1801 the latter was divided into the Lithuanian Vil'na Gubernia and the Lithuanian Grodno Gubernia. At that time the Vitebsk and Mogilev Gubernias, which Russia had annexed as a result of the First Partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772, were combined to become the Belarus Gubernia. Later these two territories were divided once more to form the Belarusian Vitebsk-, and Belarusian Mogilev Gubernias respectively and these were administered by a single governor general. Meanwhile the Minsk Gubernia, which became part of Russia after the Second Partition, was subject to the governor general of Kiev. Moreover, after the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 the governor general of Vil'na administered the Belostok [Białystok] area too. In 1819 Palanga and the surrounding district were transferred from the Vil'na Gubernia to the Courland Gubernia. Another GDL territory, the Trans-Nemunas Area, fell to Prussia after the

Partitions and in 1807 it formed part of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; later, in 1815, the Kingdom of Poland: Medišauskienė, 2006.

[6] The functions of the other governors general were administrative and economic and they ran economically and culturally backward regions.

[7] Official letter from the overseer of St Petersburg Education District to the Censhorship Committee of St Petersburg, 16 July 1840, RGIA, f. 777, op. 1, d. 1572, l. 1. Scholars often say mistakenly that the authorities forbade the use of these terms altogether.

[8] P. G. [?], "Kniaz Litovskii Iakov Andreevich, tak nazvannyi Iagaila," *Litovskie eparchial'nye vedomosti*, 1869, no. 5, 292.

[9] Koialovich, 1863, 23.

[10] Hil'ferding, 1885, 108.

[11] Vil'na governor general's report for 1868–1870, RGIA, f. 1263, op. 4, d. 46, l. 5.

[12] Explanatory note on the foundation of the teacher training college in Panevėžys [Ponevezh] in the Kovno Gubernia, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 2917, l. 45. At the time the term did not take root. Between the two world wars the term was applied to the Lithuanian Republic with its provisional capital in Kaunas.

[13] Minutes from the meeting of the special committee set up by the tsar, 3 May 1841, RGIA, f. 1290, op. 4, d. 71, l. 20.

[14] Report from the interior minister to the tsar, 7 September 1841, RGIA, f. 1290, op. 4, d. 71, l. 67; Note from the interior minister, 1842?, RGIA, f. 1286, op. 8, 1841, d. 76, l. 78, 81.

[15] Staliūnas, 2004c, 148–151.

[16] Memorandum from the governor general of Vil'na On the Roman Catholic clergy of the North Western Gubernias, 27 November 1867, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 308, l. 3–4; dated according to another copy of the text: LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1867, b. 603, l. 42–43.

[17] See Chapter Three.

[18] Medišauskienė, 2006.

[19] Ibid.

[20] After appointing Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich as viceroy in the Kingdom of Poland, the tsar decided to set up the first military districts subject to the said viceroy and the governors general of Vil'na and Kiev in place of the First Army, which had been stationed throughout the territory of the former Commonwealth of the Two Nations: Miliutin, 1999, 349.

[21] Sokolov, 1903, 65–71; Cherkesov, 2001, 152–157.

[22] Staliūnas, 1998, 383–401.

[23] Back in 1858, while he was still minister of state property, Murav'ev spoke out in favour of strengthening the power of the governors general and the creation of this institution throughout the empire: Lincoln, 1982, 191. On Murav'ev's nationality policy, see: Dolbilov, 2000, 338–408; Staliūnas, 2002b, 250–271.

[24] For this development, see the file "O prisoedinenii Vitebskoi i Mogilevskoi gubernii k Vilenskomu uchebnomu okrugu," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 3, b. 1279.

[25] Copy of the letter from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 2 October 1863, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 3, d. 769, l. 156.

[26] There were more such proposals for joining ethnic Lithuanian districts to the NWP. See the file "Zapiska bez podpisi o merakh, neobkhodimykh k osushchestvleniiu dlia predotvrashcheniia vosstaniia poliakov v Zapadnom krae," Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii [State Archive of the Russian Federation, Moscow; henceforth – GARF], f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 702, l. 15; "Vnutrenniia izvestiia," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1868, no. 143.

[27] Dolbilov, 2000, 347–348.

[28] Kulin, 1867, 8.

[29] Głębocki, 2000, 47–49, 123–124, 133–134, 203; Komzolova, 2005b, 35, 115–116; Dolbilov, Miller, 2006,160–161.

[30] Minutes from the meeting of the Committee of Ministers, 13 July 1861, RGIA, f. 1275, op. 1, d. 14, l. 19.

[31] On official correspondence concerning this issue, see files "O sliianii Minskoi rimsko-katolicheskoi Eparkhii s Vilenskoiu," LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 306; "Ob uprazdnenii Minskoi eparkhii," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 2269; "Ob uprazdnenii Minskoi R.[imsko] K.[atolicheskoi] Eparkhii," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 955.

[32] Merkys, 1999, 527–534.

[33] Letter from the deputy interior minister to the secretary of the Council of Ministers, 17 July 1908, RGIA, f. 821, op. 125, d. 21, l. 126.

[34] Staliūnas, 2005g, 214–227.

[35] Copy of K. Arsen'ev report to the interior minister, 23 June 1843, RGIA, f. 1290, op. 1, d. 149, l. 9.

[36] Most humble report from the interior minister to the tsar, 12 December 1862, RGIA, f. 908, op. 1, d. 185, l. 7; Beletskii, 1906, 21–21.

[37] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 5 January 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 2427, l. 1–3.

[38] Proposals from the governor general of Vil'na's assistant, A. Potapov, 1865, GARF, f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 758a, l. 10–12.

[39] Aksakov, 1886, 260–271.

[40] Proposals for changing administrative boundaries in the western borderlands, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 2427, l. 28.

[41] Proposals from the governor general of Vil'na's assistant, A. Potapov, 1865, GARF, f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 758a, l. 10–12, 52–54; On the Potapov's proposals, see: Staliūnas, 2004c, 155–162.

[42] A different kind of proposal for changing administrative boundaries was proposed by Nazimov. He was skeptical about the possibility and usefulness of implementing the plans for transferring part of the NWP to the administrative control of neighbouring gubernias ("in essence these districts would not, after transferal to the Great-Russian gubernias, cease to be drawn to the west, where they would be influenced by the centre of Polish life in Warsaw") and he proposed dividing the gubernias on ethnic grounds at least, that is, separating the Lithuanians and Žemaitijans from the Russians. Moreover, although this proposal was similar to the one put forward in the early 1880s which would have divided the three Baltic Gubernias into two, the Latvian and the Estonian, the coincidence is that in both cases thought was given as to how to oppose loyal ethnic groups (in the NWP the Lithuanians and Belarusians, and in the Baltic Gubernias, the Latvians and Estonians) to the traditional local elites (the Poles in one case, and the Baltic Germans in the other). However, there was an essential difference – unlike the proposals for the Baltic Gubernias, where the office of governor general was abolished in 1876, Nazimov's idea was not to abolish the office of governor general: note from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 14 March 1863, LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1863, b. 490, l. 3–13. On the proposed reorganisation of provincial government in the Baltic Gubernias, that is, the creation of two new gubernias divided by the language frontier and centered in Riga and Reval [Tallinn], see: Thaden, 1981, 65.

[43] For official correspondence on this problem, see following files: "Ob otdelenii Mogilevskoi gubernii ot Vilenskago General-Gubernatorstva," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 66; "Ob otdelenii Mogilevskoi gubernii ot Glavnago upravleniia Severo-zapadnym kraem i o Vitebskoi," RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 356; "Ob iz'iatii Minskoi gubernii iz vedeniia Glavnago upravleniia S[evero] Z[apadnogo] K[raia]," RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 357; "Ob otchislenii Vitebskoi gubernii ot vedeniia Glavnago upravleniia Severo-Zapadnym kraem," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 280; "Ob iz'iatii Vitebskoi gubernii iz vedeniia Glavnago Upravleniia S[evero] Z[apadnogo] K[raia]," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 97; "Ob otdelenii Minskoi gubernii ot Vilenskago general-gubernatorstva," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1871, b. 1.

[44] Report from Mogilev governor on the disjoining Mogilev gubernia from the subordination to the Vil'na governor general, 21 April 1869, LVIA,

f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 66, l. 12–13; the same document: RGIA, f. 1282, op. 1, d. 356, l. 6.

[45] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 12 June 1869, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 1, d. 356, l. 25–26.

[46] "The governor general's administration for the exceptional authority, with which the chief official of the region is endowed and for its broad and all-round significance the governor general's administration actually isolates the region and lends Vilnius the character of a separate and very powerful government centre. As the residence of the central authority, Vilnius draws towards itself property-, estate-, and political interests and parties from the whole region <…> because in the course of two or three years one or several parents will come to Vilnius to lodge complaints with the overseer against the local school administration neither the least attraction or harmful influence can happen": note from the education minister to the interior minister, 7 February 1870, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 356, l. 158–163.

[47] The Governor Generalship of Vil'na, as we know, was abolished in 1912. The decision to do this was influenced by ethno-political motives: Staliūnas, 2006a, 235–243.

[48] Feoktistov, 1991, 299.

[49] Quotation from *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1866, no. 263.

[50] Letter from S. Raikovskii to M. Katkov, 27 October 1869; letter from N. Novikov to M. Katkov, 11 November 1869, Otdel rukopisei Rossiiskoi Gosudarstvennoi biblioteki [Manuscript Division of the Russian State Library; henceforth – OR RGB], f. 120, k. 22, l. 68, 85.

[51] Staliūnas, 2005g, 214–227.

[52] I. Shestakov, Memoirs, vol. 5, OR RNB, f. 856, d. 5, l. 418.

II. The Search for a Nationality Policy Strategy in the Early 1860s

[1] Medišauskienė, 1998, 225–226; Fajnhauz, 1999, 21, 36, 51; Kulakauskas, 2000, 86–89, 95; Dolbilov, Miller, 2006, 161–172; Komzolova, 2005b, 29. See also earlier articles on this topic – Staliūnas, 1998, 383–401; Staliūnas, 2007.

[2] *Slavophile articles* – Potašenko, 1996, 224–238; Kulakauskas, 2000, 103–115; Głębocki, 2005, 135–166; *West Russian Association* – Głębocki, 2000, 246–253; *anonymous document* – Staliūnas, 2003a, 266–268.

[3] Eisenbach, 1972, 422–425.

[4] Klier, 2003, 41–58.

[5] Pavlov, 1885, 565–566; Miliutin, 1999, 58–59; Fainhauz, 1999, 11; Staliūnas, 2001, 312; Szpoper, 2003, 34.

[6] *Relaxing censorship* – Medišauskienė, 1998, 150; *higher education institution* – Staliūnas, 2000c, 32; *publishing a journal* – Stolzman, 1973, 43–44.

[7] Nikotin, 1902, 511.

[8] Fajnhauz, 1999, 19.

[9] Staliūnas, 2000c, 32–36.

[10] Undated report from the governor general of Vil'na to the tsar; Alexander II's resolution to "Discuss measures proposed by Mr Nazimov in the Ministers' Cabinet," 4 February 1862, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 334, l. 10.

[11] "Królewstwo Polskie," *Czas,* 1860, no. 287; Fajnhauz, 1999, 20.

[12] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 24 October 1861, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 1090, l. 7.

[13] The petition of the gentry of the Vil'na Gubernia is presented in report from the governor general made in the Interior Ministry document "View of the political situation in the Vil'na, Kovno, Grodno and Minsk Gubernias and the government measures in this regard proposed by the region's chief administrator," RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 334, l. 3–4. Other versions of this petition have survived which differ in their rhetoric but not in their essence: "Wilno, 2 stycznia 1862. Adres Litwy do cara; posiedzienie polityczno-literackie u Nazimowa;- policya rosyjska," *Przegląd Rzeczy Polskich,* 27 January 1862, 33.

[14] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 14 March 1863, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 339, l. 34.

[15] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of education, 26 June 1862, RGIA, f. 733, op. 140, d. 17, l. 49, published in Milovidov, 1913, 107; for the aim of cutting the province off from Russia**,** see RGIA, f. 733, op. 140, d. 17, l. 52.

[16] Opinion of the governor general of Vil'na on an anonymous note which the minister of interior presented to the tsar on 25 February 1862, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 334, l. 121–122 and f. 1276, op. 1, d. 11, l. 105–111; *Iz del Zapadnogo komiteta: Svod predlozhenii i vyvodov*: St Petersburg, RNB, Russkii Fond 18.241.1.8/1–29, unnumbered pages.

[17] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of education, 26 June 1862, RGIA, f. 733, op. 140, d. 17, l. 52; governor general of Vil'na's proposals (which contain a reference to a resolution of Alexander II, dated 27 August 1862), RGIA, f. 1267, op. 1, d. 11, l. 35.

[18] Opinion of the governor general of Vil'na on anonymous note presented to the tsar by the interior minister on 25 February 1862, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 334, l. 124.

[19] *Disloyal Poles* – note from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 14 March 1863, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 339, l. 41; *ban on Polish language* – proposals of the governor general of Vil'na, RGIA, f. 1267, op. 1, d. 11, l. 37; *people's schools to be set up* – undated report from the governor general of Vil'na to the tsar, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 334, l. 12; *journals* – ibid. l. 13–14 and note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of education, 15 June 1862, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 4, b. 915, l. 6–11; *not sending the army* – circular from the governor general of Vil'na to governors, 9 February 1863, *Vosstanie*, 1965, 4.

[20] *Russian university* – undated report from the governor general of Vil'na to the tsar, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 334, l. 11–12; note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of education, 26 June 1862, RGIA, f. 733, op. 140, d. 17, l. 49; *proportion of nationalities* – note from the governor general of Vil'na to the chief of gendarmes department, 16 September 1861, GARF, f. 109, 1861, d. 303, ch. 1, l. 236–237; note from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 14 March 1863, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 339, l. 40–41; *Russian gentry colonists* – ibid.; Opinion of the governor general of Vil'na on anonymous note presented to the tsar by the interior minister, 25 February 1862, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 334, l. 125–126.

[21] On this strategy, see Kappeler, 1982, 159–183; Kappeler, 1992a, 203–204, 225–228; Lieven, 2002, 274–275.

[22] As far as we know, the Russian authorities discussed the possibility for a depolonisation policy for the first time in 1852–1854, when they considered separating Žemaitijans from Poles in schools because the former "become infected by the Polish spirit in their first education together in schools." However such a step was rejected in the end because there was no point in allowing representatives of only one ethnic group to attend school and it would have been expensive to build separate schools; it was difficult to determine who was a Pole and who, a Žemaitijan; Žemaitijans were no less dangerous than the Poles; and finally, "any measure introduced in the Western Province to separate inhabitants into ethnic groups would hardly meet the aims of the government; since when subject to the Russian sovereign this province should become linked to Russia without having any ethnic differences;" and separate schools "are capable of reminding some inhabitants of the province that they are Poles and others that they are Lithuanians." On this situation, see the file "Delo Po Vysochaishemu poveleniiu o proiskhozhdenii vospitannikov Tel'shevskoi Rimsko-katolicheskoi Seminarii," LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1852, b. 52; and file "O vospitanii Zhmudskago iunoshestva v srednikh uchebnykh zavedeniiakh Vilenskago

Uchebnago okruga," RGIA, f. 733, op. 62, d. 1224; Lukšienė, 1970, 222–225; Aleksandravičius, 1990, 96–99; Zasztowt, 1997, 247–249.

[23] VED Annual Report for 1861, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 111, l. 55.

[24] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 14 March 1863, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 339, l. 33.

[25] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of education, 26 June 1862, RGIA, f. 733, op. 140, d. 17, l. 54.

[26] Opinion of the governor general of Vil'na on an anonymous note presented to the tsar by the interior minister, 25 February 1862, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 334, l. 122; note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of education, 18 June 1862, Milovidov, 1913, 83–84; proposals of the governor general of Vil'na, RGIA, f. 1267, op. 1, d. 11, l. 34; note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of education, 1 February 1863, RGIA, f. 733, op. 62, d. 1483, l. 51; confidential note from the governor general of Vil'na to the gendarmerie chief, 18 February 1863, *Vosstanie*, 1965, 5.

[27] Dolbilov considers that the emancipation of the serfs was the main impetus behind the formation of nationalist discourse: Dolbilov, 2003, 205–235; Dolbilov, Miller, 2006, 139–140.

[28] Report from the governor general of Vil'na with the resolution of Alexander II, 14 February 1862, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 334, l. 11–14.

[29] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the education minister, 15 June 1862, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 4, b. 915, l. 8.

[30] Lieven, 2002, 277–278.

[31] On the comparison of these two empires, see: Subtelny, 1997, 73–92.

[32] Aksakov, 1886, 33.

[33] Report from the governor general of Vil'na with the resolution of the Alexander II, 27 August 1862, RGIA, f. 1267, op. 1, d. 11, l. 36. It seems that sometimes references to the Austrian policy of "divide and rule" were made only so that such a nationality policy would not be introduced in the Russian Empire. In 1865 the governor general's assistant, Potapov, wrote that "Austria could guarantee the success of its affairs after raising the nationality and literature of the Ruthenians to level of the Poles. Although there is a Lithuano-Žemaitijan nationality, which is sufficiently autonomous in the North Western Province, it has no alphabet, let alone a literature of its own, and raising it to the Polish level is inconceivable" (Proposals from the governor general of Vil'na's assistant, A. Potapov, 1865, GARF, f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 758a, l. 9). However, Potapov was not one of those bureaucrats, who were enthralled by the principles of such a policy, and what is more, he belonged to the more conservative group of bureaucrats; he regarded the Lithuanians as being quite dangerous. He viewed the Kovno Gubernia as being the most

dangerous in the province and proposed that, in order to "thin out the density and unity of the Žemaitijan population," there they should divide the gubernia into two parts: a western part joined up with the Gubernia of Courland, where the "German element," which was renowned for its loyalty to the empire and conservatism, would dominate. In other words, it is probable that Potapov did not even wish to put forward the principles of "divide and rule," and so that his argument would sound firmer, he noted that Austria was following such a policy and Austria, as we have noted, was not regarded as a good model by the Russian elite.

[34] Note from the secretary of the State Economic Department of the Council of State, A. Zablotskii-Desiatovskii to the tsar, 24 February 1862, RGIA, f. 940, op. 1, d. 3, l. 1–2.

[35] In one file from Zablotskii-Desiatovskii's personal fond preserved in RGIA, which contains material about the putative West Russia Association (see below) there is a text relating to Nazimov's text, albeit with an erroneous date of 22 February 1862, RGIA, f. 940, op. 1, d. 4, l. 116.

[36] In spring 1862 Hil'ferding attempted to begin a propaganda campaign to promote a policy of "divide and rule" for Finland and the Western Province. He formulated his credo in the form of a question without the least ambiguity in a letter to Aksakov: "Do you not feel that in the south west these independent-minded Little Russians are our only allies, the only ones saving the Russian cause from the Poles and the principles they represent?": Hil'ferding, 1916, 211.

[37] The author(s) of the proposals most probably knew about Pylyp Morachevskii's translation of the New Testament into Ukrainian, for the translator was attempting to gain a license at that very moment to publish his work. As head of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Bludov, approved a request from the Academy's Department of Russian Language and Literature and approached the Synod on Morachevskii's behalf: Vulpius, 2005a, 196–197; Vulpius 2005b, 128.

[38] RGIA, f. 940, op. 1, d. 3, l. 3–41; the same document: RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 334, l. 20–60; *Iz del Zapadnogo komiteta: Svod predlozhenii i vyvodov*: St Petersburg, RNB, Russkii Fond 18.241.1.8/1–29, (pages unnumbered).

[39] Reaction of the Kiev governor general to the proposals sent to him by the interior minister on 25 February 1862, Reaction of the Vil'na governor general to the proposals sent to him by the interior minister on 25 February 1862, *Iz del Zapadnogo komiteta: Svod predlozhenii i vyvodov*: St Petersburg, RNB, Russkii Fond 18.241.1.8/1–29, (pages unnumbered).

[40] Report from the Vil'na governor general from August 1862, RGIA, f. 1267, ap. 1, b.11, l. 34; the same document: *Iz del Zapadnogo komiteta: Svod predlozhenii i vyvodov*: St Petersburg, RNB, Russkii Fond 18.241.1.8/ 1–29, (pages unnumbered).

[41] Valuev, 1961, vol. 1, 190.

[42] Latest studies of this matter are Szopper, 2003, 527–541, and Bairašauskaitė, 2003, 94–96.

[43] We have found two copies of this document with comments made by the tsar. One of them is in the RGIA Valuev Fond under the title of "Anonymous letter to P. A. Valuev (1861?)," RGIA, f. 908, op. 1, d. 149, l. 1–8. The other copy is in the Russkaia Starina Fond of *Institut russkoi literatury (the Pushkinskii dom) Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk* [Russian Literature Institute (Pushkin House) of the Russian Academy of Sciences; henceforth – IRL(PD) RAN] under the title "Text given to the emperor in Moscow in early December 1862." At the top of the document there is a note to the effect that it is a memoir from Count Starzeński: IRL(PD) RAN, f. 265, op. 10, d. 47, l. 5–18.

[44] We know of the tsar's reaction from his comments in the margins of Starzeński's petition. Alexander II was not the first person to see analogies between the federative constitution proposed by the Slavophiles, and the US. At the end of the 1850s Aleksandr Nikitenko had drafted a paragraph in the censorship rules which would have forbidden the publication of information "about a federative organisation of all Slavs according to the US example," but it was not confirmed: D'iakov, 1993, 55.

[45] Staliūnas, 2006f, 85–98.

[46] Statute of the West Russia Association, explanatory text and letter from D. Bludov to the tsar, 30 April 1863, RGIA, f. 940, op. 1, d. 4, l. 1–40, 87–100, 111–115.

[47] Miliutin, 2003, 124. Zablotskii-Desiatovskii's archive in RGIA contains a text from Hil'ferding urging the Association to be founded as quickly as possible: "according to certain evidence we obtained yesterday, this matter must go through as quickly as possible. All circumstances are as favourable as they ever could be and encourage the foundation of the association and we must strike while the iron is hot": RGIA, f. 940, op. 1, d. 4, l. 64.

[48] It is interesting that that same April similar proposals reached St Petersburg from Vilnius. The VED overseer proposed removing Polish as a subject from curriculum in grammar schools [*gimnazii*] and introducing Lithuanian as a subject in places where ethnic Lithuanians lived and "thereby the Žemaitijan element, which is not in the least opposed to the government, would be raised up and gradually push out the Poles": secret report from the

VED overseer to the minister of education, 12 April 1863, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 21, b. 15, l. 22.

[49] Głębocki, 2000, 246–247.

[50] RGIA, f. 940, op. 1, d. 4, l. 100. Perhaps the initiators wished to see N. Miliutin among the founders. The Association's documents contain another list of persons, which repeats the list of founders' names alongside names that have been struck out. Miliutin is one of the latter: RGIA, f. 940, op. 1, d. 4, l. 129.

[51] Note from the education minister to the governor general of Vil'na, 4 May 1863, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 843, l. 1. For more details on the Young Latvian Movement, see: Johansone, 1998, 483–496.

[52] Vorlage in Betreff der Begründung einer lettischen Zeitung fuer die Katholishen Letten im Gouvernement Witebsk (etwa vom 1. Juni d. J. an), und darauf wo möglich einer lithauischen Zeitung in St. Peterburg, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 843, l. 2. This document was published: Valdemārs, 1997, 93. In 1866 Valdemārs offered his services to the administration in the NWP: he intended going to Latvian-inhabited places in the Vitebsk and Kovno Gubernias to assess the situation but at that time research had begun already into his plan to move peasants from the Courland Gubernia to the Novgorod Gubernia, and so State Property Minister Aleksandr Zelenoi opposed such a proposition. This information is contained in the file "O komandirovanii Tit.[uliarnogo] Sovetn.[ika] Khristiana Vol'demara," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 189.

[53] M. Murav'ev's comments on the note from A. Golovnin, 4 May 1863, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 843, l. 1. I wish to thank Dolbilov for help reading these comments.

[54] Komzolova has described the debates within the Western Committee over policy in the Western Province: Komzolova, 2002, 9–34.

[55] For more detail on this Uprising, see Maksimaitienė, 1969; Kieniewicz, 1983; Fajnhauz, 1999; Girininkienė, 1991; Aleksandravičius, 1993a, 93–103.

[56] File "Anonymous notes, 'Thoughts for setting up a Russian Orthodox Society' in the Western Province to combat Polish influence," RGIA, f. 940, op. 1, d. 5, l. 3.

[57] It was not easy for them to draw up a consistent programme of action. The Western Committee began its work in November 1862 and was supposed to follow a programme drafted by Interior Minister Valuev. However, the minister was unable to draft such a programme. Valuev hoped that alliance with the Western Province's gentry would help implement political reforms throughout the empire, for example, to reform the State

Council by bringing into it representatives of the *zemtsva* and local estates: Dolbilov, Miller, 2006, 171.

[58] Quotation: letter from N. Novikov to M. Katkov, 24 August 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 500, l. 9.

III. The Meanings of Russification

[1] See also earlier work on this topic – Staliūnas, 2006e, 24–37.

[2] Renner, 2003, 663.

[3] Ibid., 681. There are more studies of Katkov's role in Russian political life in the second half of the nineteenth century: Tvardovskaia, 1978; Głębocki, 1998, 853–89; Głębocki, 2006, 245–305.

[4] I. Shestakov, Memoirs, vol. 5, OR RNB, f. 856, d. 5, l. 259.

[5] Mosolov, 1898, 105.

[6] Letter from A. Gezen to P. Leont'ev, 15 May 1869, OR RGB, f. 120, k. 2, d. 10, l. 11.

[7] Letter from N. Loshkariov to M. Katkov, 26 October 1863, OR RGB, f. 120, p. 6, d. 24, l. 1. Later, in 1866, when he was no longer governor general, Murav'ev himself approached Katkov for help when he was working as head of the commission investigating Dmitrii Karakozov's attempt on the life of the tsar: letter from M. Murav'ev to M. Katkov, 4 June 1866, OR RGB, f. 120, p. 42, l. 72. Soon afterwards Fedor Tiutchev wrote to Katkov on the same matter: letter from F. Tiutchev to M. Katkov, 5 July 1866, OR RGB, f. 120, p. 42, l. 73. Kaufman wrote a letter to Katkov explaining his position on the problems of introducing Russian into supplementary Catholic services and founding a higher education institution in the NWP: letter from K. Kaufman to M. Katkov, 21 October 1865, OR RGB, f. 120, d. 21, l. 100–104. Local officials from the NWP reacted very sensitively to criticism from Katkov. Thus after the VED inspector, Novikov, read criticism of the Education District in *Moskovskie vedomosti* he sat down to write a long response because "Russians in this region have become accustomed to listening to your [Katkov's] opinion, because the voice of virtually all Russia is behind it": Letter from N. Novikov to M. Katkov, 4 August 1865, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 500, l. 1.

[8] Dolbilov, 2006a.

[9] According to the local official press there were 178 subscriptions to *Vest'*, 84 to *Vilenskii vestnik*, 70 to *Moskovskie vedomosti*, 64 to *Senatskie vedomosti* and 52 to *Golos* in the Kovno Gubernia: *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1868, no. 69.

[10] See the resolution on VED Inspector V. Kulin's text of 12 August 1868, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 386, l. 4.

[11] Aksakov, 1886, 421.

[12] Dal', 1865, 1259. Dal' also gives Russian with one <s> – ruskii, rather than russkii. In a later edition from the early twentieth century the term Russify is explained with russkii, as was now the usual form: Dal', 1905, 1589.

[13] N-ov [?], "O russkoi shkole i ob otnoshenii k nei zdeshnikh inorodtsev," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1868, no. 99.

[14] "Russifying the Poles" – copy of A. Gezen's letter to M. Katkov, 30 November 1866, OR RGB, f. 120, d. 20, l. 75; "Russifying the Jews" – draft report by N. Novikov concerning the Jewish academic year of 1869–1870, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 114, l. 16; "Sanktpeterburg. 7-go fevralia," *Birzhevye vedomosti*, 1867, no. 38.

[15] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the education minister, 22 January 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 25, l. 6.

[16] Report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 3 May 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 1615, l. 3.

[17] Aksakov, 1886, 498.

[18] File "Po zapiske pochiotnago smotritelia uchilishch Grodnenskago u.[ezda] Kulakovskago o sostavlenii dlia uchilishch Zapadnykh gubernii Istorii togo kraia i o prepodovanii v onom slavianskago iazyka i Literatury," RGIA, f. 733, op. 66, d. 172.

[19] "Litva v otnoshenii k Rossii i Pol'she," *Vestnik Iugo-zapadnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii*, 1862, I year, July, vol. 1, section II, 3.

[20] Medišauskienė, 1998, 61.

[21] Miller, 2006a.

[22] Aksakov, 1886, 527–532.

[23] N. Novikov's Geographical and ethnographic account of the Kovno Gubernia, presented to I. Kornilov in 1867, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 188, l. 5.

[24] Akakov, 1886, 41.

[25] However, it remains unclear why Aksakov did not refer to the Kiev Gubernia as part of the "West Russian Province."

[26] Note from the Teacher Training College lecturer, Z. Liatskii, 1873, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 4931, l. 7.

[27] M. Iuzefovich, "Vozmozhen li mir s nami pol'skoi shliakhty?," *Vestnik Zapadnoi Rossii*, 1864, III year, September, vol. 1, section IV, 315.

[28] M. Koialovich, "Lektsii po istorii Zapadnoi Rossii," *Den'*, 1864, no. 14.

[29] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the overseer of VED, 23 February 1864, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 4, b. 946, l. 1; Russkii [?], "Golos iz obshchestva (Otryvok iz pis'ma v redaktsiiu)," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1866,

no. 1; "O roli pol'skago dukhovenstva sredi zapadno-russkago naseleniia," ibid. 1868, no. 94; Katkov, 1897 [1864], 371–373; Aksakov, 1886, 464.

[30] Kulin, 1867, 7. Note from Storozhenko, RGIA, f. 821, op. 150, d. 584, l. 5–8, 10.

[31] Circular from the governor general of Vil'na to governors, 23 June 1863, Tsylov, 1866, 236. Similar thoughts can be found in the writings of the VED overseer: Letter from I. Kornilov to N. Novikov, 1868, Kornilov, 1908, 400–403.

[32] Report from the governor general of Vil'na, 14 May 1864, Sholkovich, 1887, 308. The Western Committee also supported this assertion: LVIA, f. 378, ap. 219, b. 785, l. 5.

[33] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the overseer of the Moscow Education District, 10 July 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 1672, l. 1–2. Murav'ev wished Moscow University to hold a competition to write this textbook but there was no success in writing such a volume while he was governor general of Vil'na.

[34] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the VED overseer, 27 February 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1688, l. 4–5. There are a couple of files on this reform in LVIA: "Ob uchrezhdenii v Vil'ne Publichnoi biblioteki i pri nei muzeia drevnostei," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 3, b. 1697, "O kommisii dlia privedeniia v izvestnost' predmetov Vilenskago Muzeia drevnostei, otnosiashchikhsia k Russkoi narodnosti," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1688. The museum was reformed as the Vilnius Public Library. Many historians have studied the history of this museum: Mulevičiūtė, 2003, 45–64; Keršytė, 2003, 59–75; Mizerniuk, 2004, 148–163.

[35] Report from the governor of Kovno to the governor general of Vil'na, 14 May 1870, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 328, l. 22.

[36] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the tsar, 1870, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 328, l. 106.

[37] Ibid., l. 72, 106.

[38] Copy of comments by Interior Minister Valuev to the document of the governor general of Vil'na, dated 15 May 1864 (with the incorrect date of 1865), RGIA, f. 908, op. 1, d. 536, l. 300.

[39] "Izvlecheniie iz sovremennykh gazetnykh suzhdenii o poliakakh i pol'skom voprose," *Vestnik Zapadnoi Rossii*, 1868, book IX, vol. III, section IV, 360.

[40] "Moskva, 10-go aprelia," *Moskva*, 1868, no. 7.

[41] "Vil'na, 15-go dekabria," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1866, no. 265.

[42] Russkii [?], "Golos iz obshchestva (Otryvok iz pis'ma v redaktsiiu)," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1866, no. 1; Katkov, 1897 [1864], 146.

[43] Letter from N. Novikov to M. Katkov, 4 August 1865, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 500, l. 2.

[44] Aksakov, 1886, 417–424, 424–431.

[45] Nepoliak [?], "Iz Polotska," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1866, no. 101; "Eshchio *Moskovskim vedomostiam*," ibid., no. 125; M. Koialovich, "*Moskovskie vedomosti* i Zapadnaia Rossiia (Russkoe latinstvo, russkoe zhidovstvo)," ibid., no. 148, 150.

[46] Katkov, 1897 [1866], 78. For more on this topic see Chapter Five.

[47] Letter from the VED overseer to the deputy education minister, 2 April 1867, Kornilov, 1908, 271; annual report for Mogilev Gubernia for 1866, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 121, b. 912, l. 65.

[48] "Vil'na, 21-go ianvaria," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1867, no. 9; "Vil'na, 30-go ianvaria," ibid., no. 13; "Vil'na, 3-go marta," ibid., no. 26; "Vil'na, 7-go aprelia," ibid., no. 41; "Vil'na, 28-go aprelia," ibid., no. 49; "Vil'na, 23-go avgusta," ibid., no. 98; "Obrashchenie v pravoslavie," ibid., no. 111.

[49] "Vil'na, 10 iiulia," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1867, no. 79.

[50] "Sanktpeterburg. 7-go fevralia," *Birzhevye vedomosti*, 1867, no. 38.

[51] "Neskol'ko slov o prebyvanii g.[ospodina] glavnago nachal'nika severo-zapadnago kraia v Polotske, Vitebskoi gubernii," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1865, no. 155; "Poezdka glavnago nachal'nika severo-zapadnago kraia po Vitebskoi gubernii," ibid., no. 175; "Poseshchenie Grodny Glavnym Nachal'nikom Severo-Zapadnago kraia," ibid., no. 222; K. Smol'skii, "Dve vesti iz Slonima," ibid., no. 224; "Priezd g-na glavnago nachal'nika severo-zapadnago kraia v Kovenskuiu guberniiu," ibid., no. 251; "Priezd g-na glavnago nachal'nika severo-zapadnago kraia v Kovenskuiu guberniiu," ibid., no. 263.

[52] Kappeler, 2006.

[53] Medišauskienė, 1996, 185.

[54] Miller, 2000, 141.

[55] Beloruss [?], "Belorusskiia pis'ma," *Den'*, 1864, no. 7.

[56] "Vil'na, 7-go aprelia," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1867, no. 41; "Vil'na, 15-go maia," ibid., no. 56; "Vil'na, 1-go noiabria," ibid., no. 127.

[57] P. Bezsonov, "Ob izdanii pamiatnikov Belorusskago narodnago tvorchestva," *Den'*, 1863, no. 45.

[58] M. Koialovich, "Kak ustroit' normal'noe polozhenie v Zapadnoi Rossii?," *Den'*, 1865, no. 20.

[59] "Izvlechenie iz sovremennykh russkikh gazetnykh suzhdenii o poliakakh i pol'skom voprose," *Vestnik Zapadnoi Rossii*, 1868, VI year, book IX, vol. III, section IV, 360.

IV. Separating "Them" from "Us." Definitions of Nationality in Political Practice

[1] A. Kappeler has drawn attention to this matter: Kappeler, 2004, 293.

[2] Staliūnas, 2006d, 88–100.

[3] Bičkauskas-Gentvila, 1969, 125–141; Bičkauskas-Gentvila, 1970, 121–147; Jurkowski, 2001, 25–62; Komzolova, 2005, 74–5, 91–3, 155, 177–185, 220–9, 303–16.

[4] Weeks, 1994, 35–36; Gorizontov, 1999, 100–117; Rodkiewicz, 1998, 57–78; Staliūnas, 2000b, 61–66.

[5] Anonymous text "On spreading national sentiment in the empire's western gubernias," LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1837, b. 69, l. 36.

[6] Opinion of the governor general of Vil'na on an anonymous note which the interior minister presented to the tsar on 25 February 1862, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 334, l. 126.

[7] Dolbilov, Miller, 2006, 170. The same views are to be found in newspapers: Aksakov, 1886, 92.

[8] Katkov, 1897 [1864], 758.

[9] Note from the governor general of Vil'na, 25 April 1863, GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1863, d. 23, ch. 175, l. 3–17.

[10] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the head of the Third Section, 25 April 1863, GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1863, d. 23, ch. 175, l. 1–2.

[11] Copy of report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 11 June 1863, LVIA, f. 439, ap. 1, b. 217, l. 16; Copy of report from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of interior, 23 August 1863, LVIA, f. 439, ap. 1, b. 25, l. 1; report from the governor general of Vil'na to the tsar, 11 March 1864, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 219, b. 782, l. 16; report from the governor general of Vil'na to the tsar, 1865, LVIA, f. 439, ap. 1, b. 56, l. 11.

[12] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the tsar, 3 November 1863, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 219, b. 782, l. 5–6. Murav'ev expresses similar views in other official texts: note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of state property, 28 January 1864, RGIA, f. 384 op. 12, d. 360, l. 9.

[13] The Slavophile press propagated such a policy: Aksakov, 1886, 112.

[14] Letter from M. Murav'ev to A. Zelenoi, 23 September 1864, OR RNB, f. 629, d. 179, l. 2.

[15] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of state property, 20 March 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 1782, l. 27–28.

[16] *Sbornik*, 1886, 11.

[17] *Sbornik*, 1886, 32–37.

[18] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of state property, 28 January 1864, RGIA, f. 384 op. 12 d. 360, l. 6, 10. The Polish historian, Roman Jurkowski writes that it is difficult to tell the number and size of sequestrated estates: Jurkowski, 2001, 40.

[19] Mosolov, 1898, 134, Komzolova, 2005b, 155.

[20] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of state property, 18 October 1865, RGIA, f. 384, op. 12, d. 360, l. 13–14.

[21] Confidential note from the governor general of Vil'na, 18 March 1865, RGIA, f. 384, op. 12, d. 360, l. 15–32.

[22] Note from the governor general of Kiev to the minister of state property, 27 October 1865, RGIA, f. 384, op. 12, d. 360, l. 33–34.

[23] *Sbornik*, 1886, 42–43. Unlike in Kaufman's proposal, Protestants were also allowed to buy estates in the Kovno Gubernia. As Sergei Raikovskii, one of Katkov's informants, said, this fact drove Kaufman and Zelenoi "to despair" because they were afraid of the "Germanisation of the Kovno Gubernia": copy of letter from S. Raikovskii to M. Katkov, 25 December 1865, OR RGB, f. 120, d. 22, l. 74. Raikovskii was well informed because in his letter he also wrote about dissatisfaction on the part of Kaufman and Zelenoi with the fact that Prussian Jewish subjects had begun to "exploit" forests in the Grodno Gubernia. Indeed, in November 1865 Kaufman reported to Zelenoi that Prussian subjects had arrived in the Grodno Gubernia: note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of state property, 20 November 1865, RGIA, f. 384, op. 12, d. 360, l. 36–38.

[24] Minutes with the tsar's comments from the Special Commission to Discuss the Settlement of a Russian Element in the Western Province, 29 November and 7 December 1865, RGIA, f. 1263, op. 4, d. 6, l. 2–39. Another discussion involving Alexander II was held earlier on 25 November: Valuev, 1961, vol. 2, 78–81.

[25] Report from the minister of state property to tsar, November 1865 (day not indicated), RGIA, f. 384, op. 12, d. 360, l. 76.

[26] Notes from the minister of state property to the minister of justice, 16 December 1865, 3, 17, 28 January 1866; notes from the minister of justice to the minister of state property, 29 December 1865, 12 and 25 January, 8 February 1866, RGIA, f. 384, op. 12, d. 360, l. 92–5, 121–8, 150–2, 175, 115–20, 142–9, 173–4, 179.

[27] *Sbornik*, 1886, 53–55.

[28] Report from the governor general of Kiev to the interior minister, 4 November 1869, RGIA, f. 1284, op. 189, 1865, d. 4, l. 246–247.

[29] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the tsar, 1870, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 328, l. 81–85.

[30] Note from the minister of state property, 10 November 1865, RGIA, f. 384, op. 12, d. 360, l. 52.

[31] Aksakov, 1886, 418, 539.

[32] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the Kovno governor, 14 June 1869; report from the Kovno governor to the governor general of Vil'na, 30 July 1869, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 1861, l. 3, 4.

[33] Note from the Governor General of Vil'na's Special Office for the Settlement of Russian Landowners to the Novo-Aleksandrovsk District Police Department, 18 August 1869, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 1861, l. 5.

[34] Note from K. Govorskii, 28 July 1866, RGIA, f. 821, op. 125, d. 294, l. 32.

[35] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of state property, 22 September 1869, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 714, l. 16–17.

[36] *Sbornik*, 1886, 208–210.

[37] Rodkiewicz, 1998, 60.

[38] Report from the governor of Vitebsk to the interior minister, 19 December 1869. The interior minister shared this opinion: note from the interior minister to the governor of Vitebsk, 31 December 1869, RGIA, f. 1284, op. 189, 1865, d. 4, l. 274, 275.

[39] Report from the governor of Minsk to the governor general of Vil'na, 31 January 1870, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1870, b. 1330, d. 1, l. 42.

[40] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the governor of Minsk, 7 February 1870, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1870, b. 1330, d. 1, l. 50–51.

[41] Report form the governor of Minsk to the governor general of Vil'na, 13 August 1870; note from the Governor General of Viln'a's Special Office for Russian Settlement to Igumen District Police Department, 31 August 1870, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1870, b. 1330, d. 2, l. 107–108, 137.

[42] Note from the interior minister to the governor of Mogilev, 26 July 1870, RGIA, f. 1284, op. 189, 1865, d. 4, l. 375–376.

[43] According to Werth, "In imperial Russian law marriages were construed as being 'mixed' [*smeshannye*] only from a confessional perspective. Marriages between different ethnicities or races were neither regarded nor regulated as 'mixed'": Werth, 2006b.

[44] This information is contained in the file "Po prosheniiu krest'ianki Adamovichevoi o razreshenii ei kupit' imenie Kamennyi Brod chislom 360 desiatin," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 2132; most humble report from the governor general of Vil'na to the tsar, 10 February 1868, RGIA, f. 1284, op. 189, 1865, d. 4, l. 121.

[45] Most humble report from the governor general of Vil'na to the tsar, 10 February 1868, RGIA, f. 1284, op. 189, 1865, d. 4, l. 121–124; Seredonin, 1902, 199.

[46] *Sbornik*, 1886, 161–162.

[47] Ibid., 250–251.

[48] Valuev, 1961, vol. 2, 419.

[49] Notes from the governor of Kovno to the governor general of Vil'na with the latter's comments, 19 and 20 October 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 2381, d. 1, l. 155, 164, 318–319.

[50] *Sbornik*, 1886, 109.

[51] Note from the governor of Kovno to the governor general of Vil'na, 14 May 1870, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 328, l. 15–16.

[52] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of interior, 8 February 1869, RGIA, f. 1284, op. 189, 1865, d. 4, l. 197–198.

[53] Copy of copy of note from the interior minister to the state secretary responsible for appeals to the tsar, dated 2 April 1869, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1870, b. 1330, d. 1, l. 90–91, published: *Sbornik*, 1886, 221.

[54] Report form the governor of Kovno to the governor general of Vil'na, 30 March 1870; note from the governor of Kovno to the Governor General of Viln'a's Special Office for Russian Settlement, 7 April 1870, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1870, b. 1330, d. 1, l. 127, 158; report from the governor of Minsk to the governor general of Vil'na with Potapov's comments, 6 October 1870, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1870, b. 1330, d. 2, l. 198.

[55] *Sbornik*, 1886, 220.

[56] Note from the Kovno governor to the Governor General of Viln'a's Special Office for Russian Settlement, 28 September 1870, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1870, b. 1330, d. 2, l. 187. Permission was granted to unwed Protestants in the SWP, even though Russian officials understood perfectly well that they might marry a Catholic later and have Catholic children: report from the governor general of Kiev to the minister of interior, 4 November 1869, RGIA, f. 1284, op. 189, 1865, d. 4, l. 246–247.

[57] List of persons of Polish descent in the SWP to whom the 10 December 1865 Decree was not applied; report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 14 July 1870, RGIA, f. 1284, op. 189, 1865, d. 4, l. 344, 345–347.

[58] Report from the governor general of Kiev to the interior minister, 4 November 1869, RGIA, f. 1284, op. 189, 1865, d. 4, l. 246–247.

[59] Files "O peredache del iz Kantseliarii po vodvoreniiu Russkikh Zemlevladel'tsev v krae i Politicheskago otdeleniia, otnosiashchiesia k predmetu osvobozhdeniia lits pol'skago proiskhozhdeniia ot deistviia Vys.[ochaishego] poveleniia 10 dekabria 1865 goda," LVIA, f. 378, ap. 217,

b. 62; "O litsakh pol'skago proiskhozhdeniia iz'iatykh po 'Vysochaishemu' poveleniiu ot deistviia ukaza 10 dekabria 1865 g.[oda]," LVIA, f. 378, ap. 217, b. 11.

[60] *Sbornik*, 1886, 253–254. The interior minister had already taken such a decision in the case of a person from the Vitebsk Gubernia: note from the interior minister to the governor of Vitebsk, 10 January 1870, RGIA, f. 1284, op. 189, 1865, d. 4, l. 280.

[61] In 1874 Governor General Petr Al'bedinskii of Vil'na appealed to the interior minister on this account but it seems he did not receive a reply. St Petersburg considered that the 1871 Senate decision was clear enough. This information is contained in the file "Po khodataistvu lits r[imsko] k[atolicheskogo] ispovedaniia iz meshchan Z[apadnogo] K[raia], o razreshenii im priobresti pozemel'nuiu sobstvennost'," LVIA, f. 378, ap. 217, b. 53.

[62] Circular from the governor general of Vil'na to governors, 14 April 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 2370, l. 1–2.

[63] Copy of note from the chairman of the Central Valuation Committee for Compulsory Sale of Estates to the governor general of Vil'na, 4 October 1867; note from the governor general of Vil'na to the governor of Vitebsk, 7 December 1867, RGIA, f. 1284, op. 189, 1865, d. 4, l. 145, 146.

[64] Copy of report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 3(?) May 1868, RGIA, f. 1284, op. 189, 1865, d. 4, 140–141; Excerpt from the minutes of the Committee of Ministers, 14 June 1868, addressed to the interior minister on 18 June 1868, *Sbornik*, 1866, 162–163.

[65] *Sbornik*, 1886, 216–219.

[66] Circular from the governor general of Vil'na to governors, 14 April 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 2370, l. 1.

[67] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of interior, 3(?) May 1868, RGIA, f. 1284, op. 189, 1865, d. 4, l. 141.

[68] Report from the governor of Kovno to the governor general of Vil'na, 14 May 1870, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 328, l. 16.

[69] As far as we know, this term was first used by Slocum: Slocum, 1993, 105.

[70] Rodkiewicz, 1998, 91–99.

[71] Draft of report from the governor general of Vil'na, 1870, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 324, l. 179–187.

[72] Potapov himself was irresolute, as we can see from surviving memoirs: Vrangel', 2003, 138.

[73] This subject has been studied several times: Bičkauskas-Gentvila, 1970, 135–139; Rodkiewicz, 1998, 63–64; Komzolova, 2005b, 75–77, 145, 182–183, 287–298.

[74] Murav'ev's motivation for introducing the percentage tax have been discussed by historians already: Dolbilov, 2000, 377–80; Staliūnas, 2002b, 262–264.

[75] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 26 May 1863, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 615, l. 1–3.

[76] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of state property, 28 January 1864, RGIA, f. 384, op. 12, d. 360, l. 11.

[77] Telegram from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, undated, probably from 1 or 2 June 1863, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 615, l. 4.

[78] Seredonin, 1902, 188.

[79] Circular from the governor general of Vil'na to governors, 13 June 1863, Tsylov, 1866, 294–296.

[80] Mosolov, 1898, 88–89; Miliutin, 2003, 239.

[81] Cherevin, 1920, 24.

[82] Letters from M. Murav'ev to P. Valuev, 1 and 17 July 1863, LVIA, f. 439, ap. 1, b. 217, l. 22, 25–26.

[83] Letter from M. Murav'ev to N. Zubov, 8 August 1863, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 615, l. 23.

[84] Notes from the governor general of Vil'na to governors, 5 and 6 July 1863, Tsylov, 1866, 297–298.

[85] Circular from the governor general of Vil'na, 17 July 1863, Tsylov, 1866, 298–301.

[86] Secret note from the governor general of Vil'na to governors, 22 April 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 786, l. 65–66. The Baltic Germans had to pay 2 percent, except for loyal subjects, who were exempted. Those suspected of disloyalty were taxed the same as "persons of Polish descent," for whom the rate payable was then 5 percent: copy of circular from the governor general of Vil'na, 24 February 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 786, l. 65–66, l. 67–68.

[87] Note from the interior minister to the governor general of Vil'na, 5 March 1865, *Sbornik*, 1886, 25–26.

[88] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the tsar, 1870, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 328, l. 88.

[89] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the governor of Vil'na, 29 May 1863, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 605, l. 6–7.

[90] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to governors, 15 September 1863, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 605, l. 71. The publication edited by N. Tsylov says that only the Orthodox clergy were exempted: Tsylov, 1866, 302–303.

[91] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to governors, 28 October 1863, Tsylov, 1866, 303. It is not very clear why the Orthodox clergy had to be mentioned again since they were "persons of Russian descent" any way.

Probably other groups were added to the two "privileged" groups of clergy and peasants and the illogicality went unnoticed. Governor General Baranov halted collection of this tax from early 1866 but it was reintroduced later at the behest of the State Council: Decision of the State Council, which were approved by the tsar, 6 March 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 732, l. 2–3. Later Jews too were exempted: circular from governor general of Vil'na, 23 March 1868, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 732, l. 66–67.

[92] Valuev, 1861, vol. 2, 434.

[93] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the tsar, 1870, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 328, l. 88–101.

[94] The tax was collected until 1897. In the early 1870s the one-percent tax on town property was abolished.

[95] Very recent scholarship has dealt in detail with the issue of abolishing the estate income tax: Komzolova, 2005b, 287–298.

[96] Note from the foreign minister to the interior minister, 18 September 1869, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 389, l. 14.

[97] Note from the justice minister to the governor general of Vil'na, 10 January 1869, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 714, l. 9–10.

[98] List of landowners of Baltic origin in the Vil'na, Vitebsk and Kovno Gubernias, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 919, l. 17–23, 39–44, 187–205.

[99] Notes from the governors general of Vil'na to governor of Vil'na (15 April 1866), governor of Vitebsk (1 September 1866), and governor of Kovno (3 November 1866), LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 919, l. 36, 52–3, 232.

[100] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 31 March 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1281, l. 4–5; report from governor of Kovno to the governor general of Vil'na, 17 November 1870; Tsar's decree, 1 March 1871, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 773, l. 19–20, 25–26.

[101] File "Po pros'be Grafa Henrikha Pliater-Ziberga ob umen'shenii % sbora," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 570, quotation from l. 22.

[102] Report from the governor general of Kiev to the interior minister, 24 October 1869, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 389, l. 16–17.

[103] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to governors, 6 May 1865; report from the governor of Mogilev to the governor general of Vil'na, 6 June 1865; list of landowners of non-Orthodox and non-Catholic religion, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 919, l. 3, 6, 138–141.

[104] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 28 February 1870, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 389, l. 36–52

[105] See file "Po predstavleniiu Grodnenskago Gubernatora o protsentnom sbore s zemlevladel'tsev podatnago sosloviia v Bel'skom uezde," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1871, b. 834.

[106] See files "Po predstavleniiu Grodnenskago Gubernatora o vozvrate nekotorym krest'ianam Belostokskago uezda neprav.[il'no] uplachennago % sbora za 1867," LVIA, f. 378, bs 1869, b. 713; "Po prosheniiu krest'ianina Mikhaila Zavistovskago o vozvrate emu uplachennykh v % sbore deneg," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1870, b. 626.

[107] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 12 April 1870, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 389, l. 66.

[108] Ibid.

[109] "Vil'na, 4-go noiabria," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1867, no. 128.

[110] Some historians have already taken an interest in the policy of replacing state employees but they have not analysed how nationality categories functioned: Komzolova, 2005b, 59–66. Others have taken an interest in this problem, including who was regarded as a Pole and who a Russian in staff policy in a much broader context than we shall investigate here: Gorizontov, 1999, 157–190; Rodkiewicz, 1998, 133–158.

[111] Sholkovich, 1887, 298–302.

[112] Panteleev, 1909, 46.

[113] Gorizontov, 1999, 159.

[114] Seredonin, 1902, 160.

[115] Zasztowt, 1997, 149; Remy, 2000, 220.

[116] Gorizontov, 1999, 42–46.

[117] Seredonin, 1902, 164–5; Zasztowt, 1997, 149.

[118] Komzolova, 2005b, 36.

[119] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, April 1864 (day not indicated), LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 784, l. 10–11.

[120] Sholkovich, 1887, 315.

[121] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the governor of Vitebsk, 15 March 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 5, l. 17.

[122] I. Kornilov, Memoirs from 1864–1868, OR RNB, f. 377, d. 318, l. 28.

[123] Copy of the Western Committee's 17 May and 19 May 1864 Resolutions with Alexander II's comments, GARF, f. 102, 2 deloproizvodstvo, 1895, d. 62, l. 19–20. Slightly earlier (26 March 1864) the Committee passed a resolution to replace Polish officials with Orthodox or Lutheran civil servants, who had not married Poles.

[124] Note from the interior minister with Alexander II's resolution, 7 August 1864, GARF, f. 678, op. 1, d. 1133, l. 2–3; Valuev, 1961, vol. 1, 292, 417.

[125] This information is contained in the file "Offitsial'naia perepiska, po voprosu prebyvaniia na voennoi sluzhbe ofitserov pol'skago proiskhozhdeniia i katolicheskago ispovedaniia," LVIA, f. 439, ap. 1, b. 219.

[126] The Education Ministry even gathered information about "persons of Polish descent and Catholic religion" who had worked in education districts outside the empire's western gubernias. For the correspondence on this matter, see the file "O chinakh Ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniia Katolicheskago ispovedaniia," GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1865, d. 370.

[127] Report from the VED overseer to the interior minister; note from the governor general of Vil'na to the VED overseer, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 860, l. 1, 34.

[128] This information is contained in the file "Ob uchrezhdenii v Universitetakh osobykh stipendii dlia prigotovleniia uchitelei v Zapadnyia gubernii," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 876.

[129] Copy of secret note from the education minister to the VED overseer, 27 September 1868, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 26, b. 637, l. 1.

[130] Report from the VED overseer's assistant to the VED overseer, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 3, b. 1372, l. 11–13.

[131] This information is contained in the file "O nedopushchenii lits pol'skago proiskhozhdeniia k ispytaniiu na zvanie voobshche uchitelei i ne dozvoleniia im zanimat'sia obucheniem detei," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 3, b. 1372.

[132] Murav'ev, 1902, 201.

[133] Cherevin, 1920, 27–28.

[134] Report from the governor of Kovno to the governor general of Vil'na, 14 May 1870, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 328, l. 24.

[135] For correspondence on this matter, see the file "Po bezymiannoi zapiske o bedstvennom polozhenii Russkikh chinovnikov priekhavshikh na sluzhbu v g.[orod] Kovnu," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 90.

[136] This information is contained in the file "Po predstavleniu nachal'nika Vilenskoi gubernii o naznachenii godovogo sroka obiazatel'noi sluzhby dlia Russkikh chinovnikov v Severo zapadnom krae," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 133.

[137] At the time Potapov proposed: 1. giving governors general the right to employ at their discretion local young men of good family, granting them various service privileges (the right to wear a uniform, to acquire rank, and decorations for special services) but leaving them without service duties and wages because that way those gentlemen would live in gubernia centres where there were many Russian officials and "unwillingly finding themselves among them they will imbue the views which the government wishes to see in local inhabitants and it will be much easier for local officials to follow their ways of thought;" 2. following a strict observance of the Western Committee's resolution, reappoint those who had been dismissed the service simply

because of their religion and descent, except in the case of leadership posts and those which require close contact with the common people; 3. if there is no opportunity to employ the persons mentioned in point two in the NWP, they should be found employment elsewhere, primarily in the eastern part of the empire; 4. finding jobs in the same eastern part of the empire for remaining persons "of Russian descent": draft of report from the governor general of Vil'na to the tsar, October 1868 (day not indicated), LVIA, f. 378, ap. 219, b. 309, l. 2–6.

[138] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the tsar, 1870, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 328, l. 114. Governor Obolenskii of Kovno was of the same opinion: ibid., l. 26–29

[139] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the tsar, 1870, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 328, l. 108–110.

[140] This information is contained in the file "Po proektu o predostavlenii nekotorykh preimushchestv chinovnikam russkago proiskhozhdeniia sluzhashchim v S[evero]-Z[apadnom] K[rae] i pribyvaiushchim na sluzhbu v etot krai iz Velikorossiisskikh gubernii," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1874, b. 62.

[141] Note from minister of education; minutes from meetings of Western Committee, 30 June and 7 July 1864, RGIA, f. 1267, op. 1, d. 29, l. 113–120, 95.

[142] Even in the early twentieth century imperial bureaucrats were still discussing who should be regarded as a Russian. See the file "Po voprosu o raz'iasnenii termina 'litsa russkago proiskhozhdeniia,' pol'zuiushchikhsia v guberniakh zapadnykh i Ts[arstva] P[ol'skogo] osobymi preimushchestvami," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1903, b. 272.

[143] Rodkiewicz, 1999, 137.

[144] Sholkovich, 1887, 314.

[145] An undated text from the chief of the governor general's chancery bearing the governor general's resolution, datable to 19 May 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 860a, l. 260.

[146] Report from the governor of Mogilev to the head of the Interior Ministry Chancery, 10 November 1870, RGIA, f. 1284, op. 189, 1865, d. 4, l. 370. One can find very many such cases in records from the Governor General of Vil'na holdings in LVIA.

[147] Aksakov, 1886, 258.

[148] List of Catholic employees in the Vil'na Gubernia Tax Office (1866), LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1866, b. 303, l. 13–14. Murav'ev instructed his son, N. Murav'ev, who was then governor of Kovno, to refer to him in every case when a question arose of Catholic converts to Orthodoxy working as

teachers: Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the governor of Kovno, 7 September 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 860, l. 83.

[149] Secret note from the governor general of Vil'na to the official responsible for controlling collections of excise in the Kovno Gubernia, 27 June 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 45, l. 11. This sentence was later struck out but that is not important for our topic because we are interested in what officials thought about those who changed religion.

[150] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of interior, 10 February 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 114, l. 101; Cherevin, 1920, 27–28. Even in the early twentieth century imperial bureaucrats were still discussing this problem: note from the interior minister to the finance minister, 16 March 1900, RGIA, f. 1284, op. 190, d. 85, l. 8–9.

[151] Note from the head of the Vil'na Military District to the chief of artillery of the Vil'na Military District, 12 August 1864, LVIA, f. 439, ap. 1, b. 219, l. 23.

[152] Report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 7 October 1864, and reply from governor general, 12 October 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 860, l. 173, 174.

[153] See Chapter Six.

[154] Much later the commendant of the Kaunas Fort was forced to state that of 86 Kaunas policemen only 5 were Orthodox and most of the rest were Catholic Lithuanians, who, "having tasted so-called urban (Polish) civilisation" and being influenced by priests, often used Polish in official correspondence. In other words, when Lithuanians left their usual surroundings they fell under Polish, rather than Russian influence: copy of secret report from the Kaunas commendant to the chief of the Vil'na Military District, 2 October 1893, GARF, f. 102, 2 deloproizvodstvo, 1894, d. 31, ch. 28, l. 4.

[155] Russian policy towards Polish students has already been analysed: Staliūnas, 2000c; Remy, 2000; Komzolova, 2005b, 150–154.

[156] Panteleev, 1909, 55.

[157] Ibid., 56.

[158] Lukšienė, 1970, 226; Beauvois, 1987, 217.

[159] Whittaker, 1984, 198; Remy, 2000, 155, 172, 174, 219–221, 362.

[160] Remy, 2000, 298–304.

[161] A bitter discussion erupted between the central authorities and governors general in the Western Province in 1861 over whether Polish students should be allowed to travel to the Kingdom of Poland or gubernias administered by the governor general of Vil'na during the vacations. Governor General Vasil'chikov of Kiev did not wish them to remain in Kiev. Governor General Nazimov of Vil'na sought to forbid them from coming to

gubernias under his control and so forth. The result of this bureaucratic discussion was quite ambiguous. Students were allowed to travel to the Kingdom of Poland and Right-Bank Ukraine but not to the Lithuanian and Belarusian gubernias. These restrictions did not apply to students from the St Petersburg Medical Academy: Remy, 2000, 313.

[162] Note from the governor general of Kiev to the head of the Third Section and the Gendarmerie Board, 25 March 1861, GARF, f. 109, 1861, d. 303, ch.1, l. 45–46. According to calculations made by Remy, half the student population at Kiev University at the time consisted of Catholics from the Kingdom of Poland and the Western Province: Remy, 2000, 292.

[163] Minutes of the Commission set up by imperial command to review the education minister's report for 1859, RGIA, f. 1275, op. 1, d. 10, l. 72–74.

[164] Staliūnas, 2000c, 44–45; Remy, 2000, 316–319.

[165] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the education minister, 22 September 1862, LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1861, b. 73, d. 3, l. 21–22; published in Milovidov, 1913, 146–147.

[166] Staliūnas, 2000c, 71–72.

[167] Copy of the report from governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 2 October 1863, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 3, d. 769, l. 155–157; Kozłowska–Studnicka, 1920, 11.

[168] [Murav'ev], Project for a university in Vilnius, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 870, l. 2–4. Other activists with Russificatory intentions argued similarly for the need to set up a university in Vilnius. See the report made to M. Murav'ev by Titular Adviser A. Evreinov, 4 December 1862, RGIA, f. 908, op. 1, d. 207, l. 3

[169] On *Moskovskie Vedomosti* and this project, see, Staliūnas, 2005g, 218–219.

[170] Murav'ev, 1884, 578–581.

[171] Seredonin, 1902, 221–222. It was decided that Polish students could form up to 15 percent of students at Kiev University. Gorizontov asserts that from the 1873–1874 academic year the Education Ministry allowed up to 20-percent admission of Polish students in Russian universities: Gorizontov, 1999, 50.

[172] *First version* – Milovidov, 1908, 17; *second* – Rukša, 1972, 124; Vladimirovas, 1977, 135; Aleksandravičius, 1993b, 158; *third* – Kulakauskas, 1994, 183.

[173] As far as we know, in the 1870s the average annual income of rich peasants (those owning five horses) was a little over 300 rubles: Mulevičius, 2003, 320–321, 324–325. When expenses were accounted for (on average 250 rubles) not much remained for education.

[174] Sikorska-Kuliesza, 1995, 94.

[175] Extract from the education minister's report to the tsar on his visit to the VED in autumn 1872, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 26, b. 49, l. 2.

[176] Gorizontov, 1999, 56.

[177] See also an earlier article on this topic – Staliūnas, 2005f, 95–121.

[178] Sirutavičius, 1999, 74–85.

[179] Merkys, 2004d, 13–52.

[180] Komzolova, 2004, 29–31; Komzolova, 2005a, 106–130.

[181] Knight, 1998, 108–141.

[182] Copy of K. Arsen'ev's report to the interior minister, 26 May 1845, RGIA, f. 1290, op. 1, d. 149, l. 1; report from the Kovno governor (1843), RGIA, f. 1281, op. 4, d. 139, 1843, l. 10; copy of the report of the Kovno governor (undated, most probably of 1849), RGIA, f. 1281, op. 4, d. 3, 1849, l. 22; Kabuzan, 1992, 8, 76, 77, 90, 91, 95.

[183] LVIA, f. 388, ap. 1, b. 24, l. 2, 11; LVIA, f. 388, ap. 1, b. 38, l. 25, 31.

[184] LVIA, f. 388, ap. 1, b. 17, l. 6, 37; b. 38, l. 27, 46, 48–49, 51, 54, 57–58, 59, 64; LVIA, f. 388, ap. 1, b. 48, l. 44–45.

[185] Sirutavičius, 1999, 78–79.

[186] In Lithuania in the early nineteenth century the concept of the gentry-, or political nation was still strong, or in other words, class and religious affiliation defined nationality, and there were cases of nationality statistics where gentry and townsfolk (except for soldiers and Jews) were defined as Poles, and peasants were defined as Lithuanian, Ruthenian or Russian: V. Sirutavičius, 1999, 77; Merkys, 2004d, 24–25.

[187] Sholkovich, 1887, 298–308.

[188] Anonymous text "On Spreading National Sentiment in the Empire's Western Gubernias," LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1837, b. 69, l. 6.

[189] This information is contained in the file "O sobranii svedenii dlia sostavleniia Statistiki chetyrekh Zapadnykh gubernii, po khodataistvu Statsk.[ogo] Sov.[etnika] Pav.[ela]. Vas.[il'evicha] Kukolnika," LVIA, f. 694, ap. 1, b. 1916.

[190] Clay, 1995, 45–61.

[191] Lebedkin, 1861, 131–160.

[192] Confidential report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 16 May 1862, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 1, d. 31, l. 31; Lazutka, 1961, 205.

[193] Copy of secret note from the interior minister to the governors of Vil'na, Kovno and Grodno, 19 May 1862, LVIA, f. 378, 1862, ps, b. 37, l. 2.

[194] Secret report from the governor of Grodno to the interior minister, 2 June 1862, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 365, l. 60.

[195] Semenov, 1896, 375. Golovnin was one of the earliest proponents of literary ethnography.

[196] Letter from the education minister to the IRGO vice-president, F. Litke, 8 September 1862, Arkhiv Geograficheskogo Obshchestva [Archive of the Geographical Society, St Petersburg; henceforth – AGO], f. 1–1862, op. 1, d. 26, l. 1; Chubinskii, 1872, iii.

[197] Note from IRGO to the interior minister, 30 November 1862, note from the IRGO to A. Troinitskii, 7 December 1862, RGIA, f. 1290, op. 1, d. 337, l. 4, 5.

[198] Copy of letter from P. Schebal'skii to M. Katkov, 14 January (most probably of 1863), OR RGB, f. 120, k. 22, l. 189. The local authorities intended to seek his help in publishing a journal for ordinary people.

[199] "Zhurnal zasedaniia Soveta Imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago obshchestva 23 oktiabria 1862 goda," *Zapiski Imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago obshchestva*, book 1, 1863, 26.

[200] Copy of secret note from the interior minister to the education minister, 2 February 1863; note from the education minister to the interior minister, 7 February 1863, RGIA, f. 1290, op. 1, d. 337, l. 10–11, 12.

[201] Note from the deputy interior minister to governors of the Western Province, 8 October 1863, RGIA, f. 1290, op. 2, d. 6, l. 1.

[202] For more on Kirkor and nationality statistics, see Staliūnas, 2005f, 100–101.

[203] *Iz del Zapadnogo komiteta: Svod predlozhenii i vyvodov*: St Petersburg, RNB, Russkii Fond 18.241.1.8/1–29, (unnumbered pages). This table is published here even though its data are not objective. The figures are important because officials used them when making decisions concerning nationality policy. All Eastern Slavs are recorded here as Russians, while the Latvians in the Vitebsk Gubernia are recorded as Lithuanians.

[204] Erkert, 1863a; [Batiushkov, P. and A. Rittikh], 1864.

[205] Stolpianskii, 1866.

[206] In 1865 the interior minister considered that it was still too early to organise an ethnographic expedition to this area. In 1866 Valuev at first did not give permission to set up the IRGO North Western Section because "in terms of administration and situation the North Western Gubernia does not differ particularly from other Russian gubernias." Such arguments went against the nationality policy strategy propagated at the time by the interior minister, as he also opposed those radicals who sought to make all gubernias the same as the Russian ones and constantly stressed that note should be taken of their special ethno-social and ethno-cultural nature. All the same, VED

Overseer Kornilov and his fellow-minded associates succeeded in getting Alexander II to establish this section on 26 February 1867: note from the minister of interior to F. Litke, 27 March 1865, RGIA, f. 1290, op. 1, d. 337, l. 16; file "Ob uchrezhdenii v Severo-zapadnom krae Imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago obshchestva," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1544; note from the governor general of Vil'na to the VED overseer, 30 September 1866, Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos Rankraščių skyrius [Manuscript Division of Vilnius University Library; henceforth – VUB RS], f. 34, b. 666, l. 7; Semenov, 1896, 382; Dovgialo, 1910, 11–20.

[207] Brix, 1980, 23–24, 70, 78.

[208] His work was translated into Russian.

[209] Šafarik, 1848. Šafarik was cited very often by Russian ethnographers and nationality statistics experts. After the Uprising broke out and it emerged that it would be impossible to send the ethnographic expedition to the Western Province, Education Minister Golovnin proposed reprinting Šafarik's ethnographic map of the Slavs to be supplemented with new data: "Zhurnal zasedaniia Soveta Imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago obshchestva 13 marta 1863 goda," *Zapiski Imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago obshchestva*, book 1, 1863, 170; Semenov, 1896, 379.

[210] Kabuzan, 1992, 10.

[211] Bobrovskii, 1863, 614.

[212] Zelenskii, 1864, 418.

[213] M. Koialovich, "Vzgliad g. Erkerta na Zapadnuiu Rossiiu," *Vilenskii vestnik,* 1864, no. 97.

[214] Sementovskii, 1872, 2–3; The programme, drawn by L. Maikov and revised by P. Semenov for J. Kuznetsov's work (containing Hil'ferding's remarks), AGO, f. 1–1862, op. 1, d. 26, l. 285–287.

[215] Sementovskii, 1872, 2–3.

[216] Ibid.

[217] Komzolova, 2005b, 116–117.

[218] We should not be surprised by the proposal made by VED Overseer Shirinskii-Shikhmatov in April 1863 to "introduce the Žemaitijan language or Lithuanian dialect into grammar schools, junior grammar schools and district schools instead of Polish as the language of instruction with respect to the region['s character]," report from the VED overseer to the education minister, 12 April 1863, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 21, b. 15, l. 22. From this it would follow that the "Žemaitijan language" was of a higher status than the "Lithuanian dialect."

[219] Other terms could be used instead of "nationality" [*narodnost'*] such as ethnic group or ethnicity [*plemia*] or common people [*narod*].

[220] The programme, drawn by M. Koialovich for ethnographic expedition to the Western Province, AGO, f. 1–1862, op. 1, d. 26, l. 68.

[221] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the education minister, 15 June 1862, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 4. b. 915, l. 8.

[222] Note from P. Shchebal'skii relating to journal for ordinary people, 1 May 1862, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 640, l. 6.

[223] Quotation from: Mulevičius, 2003, 69.

[224] The programme, drafted by L. Maikov and revised by P. Semenov for J. Kuznetsov's work (containing Hil'ferding's remarks), AGO, f. 1–1862, op. 1, d. 26, l. 285; Afanas'ev, 1861, 311.

[225] *Lithuanians as a branch of the Slavonic ethnic group* – S. A. [?], "Russko-Litovskii mesiatslov na 1869 god. Kalendar' khoziaistvenno-komercheskii na 1869 god," *Vilenskii vestnik,* 1868, no. 142. Šafarik asserted that there were far more similarities between Lithuanian and Slavonic than between other Indo-European languages: Šafarik, vol. 1, book II, 1848, 276.

[226] Report from the governor of Kovno to the governor general of Vil'na, 27 February 1863, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 629, l. 118; report from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of interior, 31 August 1866, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 1, d. 267, l. 4.

[227] Commentaries to the statistics tables, *Iz del Zapadnogo kommiteta*, Russian National Library, St Petersburg, Russkii fond, 18.241.8/1–29, (unnumbered pages).

[228] Letter from P. Bobrovskii to the dean of Vlodav, 9 December 1859, LVIA, f. 605, ap. 8, b. 249, l. 63

[229] R... [?], "Atlas narodonaseleniia Zapadno-Russkago kraia, po ispovedaniiam," *Zapiski Imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago obshchestva,* book 1, 1864, 17.

[230] Draft Statutes of the Western Section of the IRGO, VUB RS, f. 34, b. 666, l. 2–3. This stipulation was eliminated at the insistence of the leadership of the IRGO.

[231] Secret report from the Vil'na governor general to the head of the Third Department, GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1862, d. 501, l. 1.

[232] Erkert, 1863b.

[233] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 14 March 1863, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 339, l. 40.

[234] An anonymous document concerning the scientific expedition, AGO, f. 1–1862, op. 1, d. 26, l. 29–30.

[235] "Zhurnal zasedaniia Soveta Imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago obshchestva 23 oktiabria 1862 goda," *Zapiski Imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago obshchestva*, book 1, 1863, 27.

[236] Sholkovich, 1887, 308.

[237] Dolbilov, 2001, 232.

[238] Note from the interior minister relating to Western and Baltic Gubernias with the tsar's comments, 7 August 1863, GARF, f. 678, op. 1, d. 1133, l. 2–3; Valuev, 1961, vol. 1, 294, 417. The minister used these data when he entered into discussion with the influential publicist, Katkov: Katkov, 1916, 355–356.

[239] This information is contained in the file "Po otnosheniiu Tsentral'nago Statisticheskago Komiteta o sostavlenii spiskov naselennykh mest Vilenskoi gubernii," LVIA, f. 388, ap. 1, b. 387.

[240] This subject has been studied by Klier: Klier, 2006.

[241] In 1787 Catherine II instructed that the word *evrei* ["Hebrew"] be used instead of the pejorative *zhid*.

[242] R. K–ii [?], "Evrei v zapadno-russkom krae," *Vilenskii vestnik,* 1866, no. 42; P. G. [?], "Slavianskaia zhizn'," ibid., no. 83; M. Koialovich, "*Moskovskie vedomosti* i zapadnaia Rossiia (Russkoe latinstvo, russkoe zhidovstvo)," ibid., no. 146, 150; letter from I. Kornilov to M. Katkov and P. Leont'ev, March 1864 (day not indicated), OR RNB, f. 377, d. 360, l. 3; copies of undated letters from I. Kornilov to M. Katkov, OR RGB, f. 120, d. 21, l. 143, 151.

[243] Report from the head of the schools' administration in Mozyr' concerning Jewish education for 1864, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1116, l. 225.

[244] Speech by the governor general of Vil'na to Jewish delegates in Vilnius, October 1869, when they came to discuss reforms affecting Jews, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 121, b. 1237, l. 1.

[245] Klier, 2006.

[246] Stanislawski, 1983, 45.

[247] Klier, 2006.

[248] Report from the VED overseer to the education minister, 31 March 1864 (incorrectly dated 1863 in text), RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 58, l. 14. For more on this topic see Chapter Six.

[249] Resolution of State Council, 26 April 1860, Levanda, 1874, 923.

[250] For more on this topic see Chapter Six.

[251] Stanislawski, 1983, 155–159; Civinskas, 2004, 33–52.

[252] On Russian government and Karaites, see, Klier, 2006; Bairašauskaitė, 2006, 24–37.

[253] Jewish Committee's 3 May 1855 Resolution with Alexander II's endorsement, Levanda, 1874, 840–841.

[254] State Council's 8 April 1863 resolution with Alexander II's endorsement, Levanda, 1874, 1001.

[255] N. Novikov's article "From Kaunas" addressed to *Moskovskie vedomosti* (1866), OR RNB, f. 523, d. 504, l. 7.

[256] Zelenskii, 1864, 650.

[257] Lederhendler, 1989, 97.

[258] The civil service statute for the Kingdom of Poland (1859) clearly stated that the statute is not applicable to "persons of the Judaic faith" – Civil Service Statute (Kingdom of Poland), 10 (22) March 1859, Levanda, 1874, 911.

[259] Petrovskii-Shtern, 2003, 127.

[260] Stanislawski, 1983, 147.

[261] Committee of Ministers' 12 February and 13 May 1865 resolutions with Alexander II's endorsement, Levanda, 1874, 1027, 1030.

[262] Weinerman, 1994, 442–495.

[263] This information is contained in the file "Po predstavleniiu Grodnenskago gubernatora, o 5 % sbore s imeniia Fon'-Leiby," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 661.

[264] Table: Population Figures According to Nationality, *Iz del Zapadnogo komiteta: Svod predlozhenii i vyvodov*: St Petersburg, RNB, Russkii Fond 18.241.1.8/1–29, (pages unnumbered).

[265] Zelenskii, 1864, 651–652, 659.

[266] "Uchenaia ekspeditsiia v Zapadnyi krai," *Vilenskii vestnik,* 1868, no. 21; Staliūnas, 2005f, 118.

[267] Minutes from the meeting of the KPUE, 11 June 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 40, l. 202; report from the chairman of the KPUE to the governor general of Vil'na, 20 March 1868, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1868, b. 3466, l. 2.

[268] Miller, 2006b, 99–100.

[269] Stanislawski, 1983, 8, 124–125; Nathans, 2002, 72–79.

[270] Minutes from the meeting of the KPUE, 11 June 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 40, l. 203. This was also part of the programme of the *Maskilim*: report by Shteinberg, townsman of Brest, "The View of the Status of Jews in the Context of the Current Reorganisation of the State and the Russification Project," 15 November 1866, RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 193, l. 5.

[271] The actions of the KPUE, especially when the Jewish representatives arrived in October 1869, have been described in some detail by historians: Klier, 1995, 173–181; Lederhendler, 1989, 142–145; Nathans, 2002, 174–180;

Dolbilov, 2006a. The most important archival source revealing the KPUE activities is in LVIA (file "O razsmotrenii proektov Kommissii po uluchsheniiu byta Evreev, sovmestno s deputatami ot Evreiskikh obshchestv 5-ti gubernii S[evero] Z[apadnago] K[raia]," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 40. More information about the activities of the Jewish delegation is provided by E. Levin in his report to E. Gintsburg, 1 December 1869, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 121, b. 1236, l. 1–15.

[272] Report from Assistant VED Overseer A. Serno-Solov'evich to the VED overseer, 4 Dcember 1866, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1319, l. 13. The same views are to be found in newspapers: R. K–ii [?], "Evrei v zapadno-russkom krae," *Vilenskii vestnik,* 1866, no. 42; M. Koialovich, "*Moskovskie vedomosti* i zapadnaia Rossiia (Russkoe latinstvo, russkoe zhidovstvo)," ibid., no. 150.

[273] *Proiskhozhdeniem svoim evrei* – report from the governor of Minsk to the governor general of Vil'na, 17 July 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 62, l. 7–8; *evrei pravoslavnogo ispovedaniia* – report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 30 September 1866, RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 192, l. 1–2.

[274] *Separate nation* – Koreva, 1861, 422; Project prepared by KPUE on Jewish rights to chose their dwelling-place, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 40, l. 11–12.

[275] Project prepared by KPUE on Jewish rights to chose their dwelling-place, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 40, l. 11–12. This quotation was struck out in the original but it is very important for our analysis of the categories of bureaucratic thought.

[276] Report from the chairman of the KPUE to the governor general of Vil'na, 20 March 1868, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1868, b. 3466, l. 14. We see this fear later too. Dolbilov has written about officials' views that institutions created by the authorities themselves, such as schools, encouraged Jewish separateness: Dolbilov, 2006a.

[277] *Separate corporation* – VED overseer's comments on report for 1868 concerning Jewish education, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 1344, l. 373; *caste* – report for 1864 concerning Jewish education in Mogilev gubernia, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1116, l. 171.

[278] Copy of report from the governor general of Kiev to the interior minister, 31 March 1870, RGIA, f. 1284, op. 189, d. 26, l. 5–16.

[279] In this area the imperial authorities achieved quite good results but not as good as they expected. As Rodkiewicz asserts, in the early 1860s Polonophone gentry formed around 90 percent of all landowners in the Western province, but in 1897 they accounted for only 18 percent of landowners in the SWP and 51 percent in the Lithuanian and Belarusian gubernias. At that time Orthodox estate-owners comprised 70 percent and 45 percent respectively. However, among large landowners the change was not

so great. The group of landowners with 200 or more desiatines of land contained more Catholics than Orthodox (51 percent as against 44 percent): Rodkiewicz, 1998, 127. The number of Russian peasant colonists was not high: Jurkowski, 2001, 47.

V. Confessional Experiments

[1] Blaschke, 2000, 38–75. There is also an opposing view: Steinhoff, 2004, 549–570.

[2] In the early 1870s one teacher was dismissed from work simply because while arguing with a gendarme officer he alleged there "was no God": "Delo ob uvolnenii ot dolzhnosti za ateizm uchitelia Shortsovskago uchilishcha, Belostokskago uezda, Kudriavtseva II," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 26, b. 22.

[3] Quotation from Werth, 2004, 85.

[4] Dolbilov, 2006c, 197–221. The typological similarity between Peter I's confessionalisation and policy towards the Orthodox Church in the mid-nineteenth century is dealt with in another study, and when discussing policy towards the Catholic Church it was noted then that political considerations were of greater importance: Dolbilov, Miller, 2006, 230–232.

[5] Werth, 2004, 83–105.

[6] These three aspects of religious policy were outlined by Elena Vishlenkova in her study of Alexander I's religious policy: Vishlenkova, 2002.

[7] Merkys, 2002a, 255–303; Janouskaia, 2002, 40–41.

[8] Šenavičienė, 2005, 36–65.

[9] See also an earlier article on this topic – Staliūnas, 2005h, 307–347.

[10] Merkys, 2003, 11.

[11] Radwan, 2001, 198.

[12] Vidmantas, 1995, 123–124. Some aspects of these conversions have been discussed in Belarus: Navicki, 1998, 72–74; Piatchyts, 2000, 327–350.

[13] Dolbilov, 2004a; Dolbilov, Miller, 2006, 232–236.

[14] Preobrazhenskii, 1897, 46.

[15] Annual report for Minsk Gubernia for 1866, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 121, b. 913, l. 13; R–skii [?], "Iz Minskoi gubernii," *Vilenskii vestnik,* 1867, no. 59.

[16] Report by an officer in the general staff of the Grodno gendarmerie to the head of the Third Section, 11 March 1864, GARF, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1864, d. 82, l. 1; copy of note from the governor general, On measures regarding persons converting from Latinism to Orthodoxy, 21 March 1867, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 308, l. 62; "Chislo prisoedinivshikhsia k Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi v 1866 godu," *Litovskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti,* 1867, no. 3, 100–101.

[17] According to data from 1 October 1867.

[18] A. Vostokov, "Nastavlenie Russkago svoemu synu pred otpravleniem ego na sluzhbu v Iugo-zapadnyia Russkiia oblasti," *Vestnik Zapadnoi Rossii,* IV year, 1865/1866, book IV, vol. 1, section IV, 245.

[19] [Batiushkov, P. and A. Rittikh], 1864.

[20] Report from P. Men'shikov, 1866, LVIA, 378, bs, 1866, b. 1209, l. 2.

[21] R-skii[?], "Uspekhi pravoslaviia v Minskoi gubernii," *Vestnik Zapadnoi Rossii,* V year, 1867, book V, vol. II, section IV, 213.

[22] "Pravoslavie i latinstvo v zapadno-Russkom krae," *Zapadno-Russkii Mesiatslov na 1866 god*, 1865, 61.

[23] A. Vostokov, "Nastavlenie Russkago svoemu synu pred otpravleniem ego na sluzhbu v Iugo-zapadnyia Russkiia oblasti," *Vestnik Zapadnoi Rossii,* IV year, 1865/1866, book IV, vol. 1, section IV, 245.

[24] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 31 August 1866, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 1, d. 267, l. 5.

[25] Report from the gendarmerie official of the Kovno Gubernia to the head of the Third Section, 14 October 1866, GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1864, d. 82, l. 80.

[26] Report by an officer in the general staff of the Vil'na gendarmerie to the head of the Third Section, October 1866 (day not indicated), GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1864, d. 82, l. 62.

[27] Report from the chief of gendarmerie in Troki District to the chief of gendarmerie in the Vil'na Gubernia, 26 October 1866, LVIA, f. 419, ap. 2, b. 249, l. 34

[28] On the replacement of the Latin alphabet with Cyrillic as a measure which was supposed to mark a very important step on the road to converting Lithuanians to Orthodoxy, see Chapter Six.

[29] Annual report for Mogilev Gubernia for 1866, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 121, b. 912, l. 4.

[30] Report from the director of the Kovno Directorate of Schools to the inspectors of schools in the Novo-Aleksandrovsk, Ponevezh and Vil'komir Districts, 12 February 1866, Kauno apskrities archyvas [Kaunas District Archives; henceforth – KAA], f. 567, ap. 1, b. 12, l. 49.

[31] This information is contained in the file "O priglashenii dvukh Pravoslavnykh Sviashchennikov znaiushchikh Latyshskii iazyk v Vitebskuiu Guberniiu dlia rasprostraneniia mezhdu Latyshami Pravoslavnoi very," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1330.

[32] For more on Volga-Kama region, see Werth, 2000, 105–134.

[33] Gavrilin, 1999, 117–119, 140; Haltzel, 1977, 20.

[34] Merkys, 2003, 14–16.

[35] *Remembering Orthodox ancestors* – report by an officer in the general staff of the Vil'na gendarmerie to the head of the Third Section, September

1866 (day not indicated), GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1864, d. 82, l. 62; *recognising common lines with ethnic Russian people* – letter from B. Markevich to M. Katkov, 5 September 1866, OR RGB, f. 120, k. 7, d. 30, l. 2; *gratitude to the tsar* – copy of note from the governor general, On measures regarding persons converting from Latinism to Orthodoxy, 21 March 1867, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 308, l. 62; *hating Poles* – extract from Bobrovskii's letter (Grodno Gubernia) to P. Bobrovskii, 20 July 1866, GARF, f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 710, l. 31; *compromising behaviour of Catholic priests* – report by an officer in the general staff of the Grodno gendarmerie to the head of the Third Section, 11 March 1864, GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1864, d. 82, l. 1; report from the chief of the Vil'na gendarmerie, 19 January 1866, LVIA, f. 419, ap. 2, b. 223, l. 1.

[36] Report from the chief of the Vil'na gendarmerie to the head of the Third Section, 27 November 1865, GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1864, d. 82, l. 16.

[37] I. Eremich's tract, 18 July 1866, RGIA, f. 821, op. 125, d. 584, l. 144.

[38] RGIA, f. 908, op. 1, d. 279, l. 483.

[39] V. Ratch's tract, RGIA, f. 821, op. 125, d. 584, l. 68; V. Kulin' tract, 27 June 1866, RGIA, f. 821, op. 150, d. 584, l. 47; "Priniatie pravoslaviia krest'ianami katolikami," *Vilenskii vestnik,* 1865, no. 197; Zhirkevich, 1911, 69.

[40] "Po povodu obrashcheniia Drutskago-Liubetskago v pravoslavie," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1866, no. 200; Koreva A., "Pis'mo k kniaziu A. I. Drutskomu-Liubetskomu," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1866, no. 217.

[41] Secret report from the chief of Vil'na gendarmerie to Acting Head of the Third Section N. Mezentsov, 25 May 1866, GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1864, d. 82, l. 31.

[42] For earlier evaluations of Murav'ev' role in the process of mass Catholic conversions to Orthodoxy, see Izvekov, 1899, 281; Vidmantas, 1995, 21.

[43] Ianushkevich, 2003, 40.

[44] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the Orthodox bishop of Polotsk and Vitebsk, 12 October 1864, note from the governor general of Vil'na to the over-procurator of the Holy Synod, 24 November 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 1725, l. 4–5, 22–25. The idea of setting up a missionary society was not supported by Metropolitan Iosif of Lithuania and Vilnius: note from the Orthodox bishop of Minsk and Bobruisk to the governor general of Vil'na, 26 October 1864; note from the governor general of Vil'na to the metropolitan of Lithuania and Vilnius, 3 November 1864; report of the metropolitan of Lithuania and Vilnius to the governor general, 5 November 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 1725, l. 15–17, 18, 19.

[45] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the Orthodox bishop of Mogilev and Mstislav, 2 June 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 1331, d. 1, l. 17. We can find confirmation of this in memoirs: Cherevin, 1920, 65–66.

[46] Nikotin, 1904, 312.

[47] Report by an officer in the general staff of the Vil'na gendarmerie to the head of the Third Section, September 1866 (day not indicated), GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1864, d. 82, l. 62, 64.

[48] Dolbilov, Staliūnas, 2005a, 27; Komzolova, 2005, 239. The measures taken by Khovanskii were supported by the governor general: Kaufman's resolution on the report of the military chief of the Vil'na District, N. Khovanskii, 25 May 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1208, l. 1.

[49] The phrase "converted directly to Orthodoxy" was quite frequent in correspondence at that time. This implied that there were other ways of conversion.

[50] Rimskii, 1999, 244.

[51] Valuev, 1915 (November), 247.

[52] Valuev, 1961, vol. 2, 33, 45, 48, 50, 65, 72, 82, 110, 151.

[53] Kaufman complained to D. Miliutin of opposition to his policy in the NWP from the Interior Ministry: D. Miliutin's memoirs, 1865, OR RGB, f. 169, p. 10, d. 22, l. 133–134.

[54] Copy of letter from Iu. Samarin to V. Samarin, 9 November 1866, OR RGB, f. 265, k. 37, d. 7, l. 17; D. Miliutin's memoirs, 1866, OR RGB, f. 169, p. 11, d. 2, l. 269.

[55] Komzolova, 2005b, 210–213.

[56] D. Miliutin's memoirs, 1866, OR RGB, f. 169, p. 11, d. 2, l. 267. In other memoirs the removal of Kaufman was explained by the "intrigues of the Polish party": Gene, 1914, 580. As new research by the Moscow historian, Igor' Khristoforov shows, the events of 4 April hastened a process, which had begun in domestic policy several months previously in favour of more conservative measures: Khristoforov, 2002, 181–196.

[57] Copy of letter from S. Raikovskii to M. Katkov, 20 October 1866, OR RGB, f. 120, p. 24, l. 101; letter from B. Markevich to M. Katkov, 6 October 1866, OR RGB, f. 120, k. 7, d. 30, l. 27.

[58] Report from the chief of gendarmerie in Vileika District to the chief of gendarmerie in the Vil'na Gubernia, 12 December 1867, LVIA, f. 419, ap. 2, b. 249, l. 38–39.

[59] Valuev, 1961, vol. 2, 155.

[60] Memoirs claim that Baranov spent very little time in Vilnius and lived mostly in St Petersburg: Korwin-Milewski, 1993, 56.

[61] Valuev, 1961, vol. 2, 152–153; extract from Poprotskii's letter to S. Raikovskii, 17 November 1866, GARF, f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 700, l. 4.

[62] Letter from B. Markevich to M. Katkov, 19 November 1866, OR RGB, f. 120, k. 7, d. 30, l. 57.

[63] I. Shestakov, Memoirs, vol. 5, OR RNB, f. 856, d. 5, l. 329.

[64] Copy of letter from A. Gezen to M. Katkov, 2 December 1867, OR RGB, f. 120, p. 20, l. 90.

[65] Copy of note of the governor general of Vil'na On the Roman Catholic Clergy in the North Western Gubernias. Alexander II placed his resolution on this note: "review in a special meeting with K. Gorchakov, Interior Minister, Urusov, Count Shuvalov, Count Tolstoi and both governors general of the Western Province so that their general conclusion be presented to me for review – 11 December 1867," LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 308, l. 2–31.

[66] "Vil'na, 12–13-go iiunia," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1867, no. 68.

[67] Report from A. Storozhenko to the governor general of Vil'na, 23 August 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1152, l. 30.

[68] Copy of note from the governor general, On measures regarding persons converting from Latinism to Orthodoxy, 21 March 1867, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 308, l. 64.

[69] Valuev, 1961, vol. 2, 414.

[70] Report of the governor general of Vil'na for 1871–1873, RGIA, f. 1263, op. 1, d. 3723, l. 39.

[71] Secret note from the Orthodox bishop of Lithuania and Vilnius to the governor general of Vil'na, 4 September 1869, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 979, l. 3. Approximately the same was claimed by Vil'na Governor Shestakov in Potapov's day: "After the administration of K. P. Kaufman, we must agree, we had an inconvenient legacy. The move towards Orthodoxy began in Kaufman's day with the forced influence of the administrative authorities. Seeing the approval of the province's chief official for this matter, which coincided with their own convictions, lower-ranking officials set too with all the zeal of subordinates desiring to curry favour": I. Shestakov, Memoirs, vol. 5, OR RNB, f. 856, d. 5, l. 329.

[72] Report by an officer in the general staff of the Vil'na gendarmerie to the head of the Third Section, September 1866 (day not indicated), GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1864, d. 82, l. 64; Vladimirov, 1893, 87–88.

[73] This information is contained in the file "O nagrazhdenii lits osobenno sposobstvovavshikh pri prisoedinenii k Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi prikhozhan rimsko-katolicheskikh kostelov," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1647.

[74] *Military chiefs* – secret report from an officer in the general staff of the Grodno gendarmerie to the head of the Third Section, 18 April 1864, GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1864, d. 82, l. 4–6; report from the governor of Vil'na to

the governor general of Vil'na, 13 December 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1601, l. 4; report from the governor of Vil'na to the governor general of Vil'na, 31 January 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1112, l. 2; *gendarme officers* – report from the governor of Grodno to the governor general of Vil'na, 5 October 1865, report from the governor of Mogilev to the governor general of Vil'na, 18 October 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 1331, d. 1, l. 212, 230–231; *justices of the peace* – report from an officer in the general staff of the Minsk gendarmerie to the head of the Third Section, 20 April 1866; report from the chief of gendarmerie in Igumen District to the head of the Third Section, 25 April 1866; report from an officer in the general staff of the Minsk gendarmerie to the head of the Third Section, 5 September 1866, GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1864, d. 82, l. 25, 26, 76; report from the governor of Grodno to the governor general of Vil'na, 14 January 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1152, l. 52; copy of a report from the governor of Minsk to the governor general of Vil'na, 8 June 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 1331, d. 2, l. 43.

[75] Copy of an undated letter from S. Raikovskii to M. Katkov, OR RGB, f. 120, p. 24, l. 105. One "true Russian" inhabitant of Grodno also claimed that statues of the saints had been tossed from the walls of the closed-down Carmelite church in the city with the help of Jews: copy of letter from I. Veimarn of Grodno to the editor of *Vest'*, 17 August 1867, GARF, f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 700, l. 11.

[76] Report of the military chief of the Mozyr' District to the governor general of Vil'na, 9 January 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1354, l. 5–6; report from an officer in the general staff of the Vil'na gendarmerie to the head of the Third Section, October 1866 (day not indicated), GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1864, d. 82, l. 64–65; Report from A. Storozhenko, 19 September 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 1380, l. 1; Vladimirov, 1893, 88.

[77] Copy of note from the governor general, On measures regarding persons converting from Latinism to Orthodoxy, 21 March 1867, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 308, l. 63; report from the governor of Minsk to the governor general of Vil'na, 25 February 1869, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1301, l. 22.

[78] Report from A. Storozhenko to the governor general of Vil'na, 31 January 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1354, l. 25–26; report from an officer in the general staff of the Vil'na gendarmerie to the head of the Third Section, 9 December 1865, GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1864, d. 82, l. 21.

[79] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to A. Storozhenko, 31 January 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1340, l. 1–3.

[80] Copy of response from A. Storozhenko to the governor of Vil'na's note from 17 November 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 1331, d. 2, l. 64.

[81] Copy of letter from N. Voskoboinikov to M. Katkov, 9 October 1867, OR RGB, f. 120, p. 22, l. 19.

[82] Copy of response from A. Storozhenko to governor's of Vil'na note from 17 November 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 1331, d. 2, l. 60–64. Admittedly, if we are to believe N. Izvekov's information, there were four such priests in all: Izvekov, 1899, 300–301.

[83] This information is contained in the file "Po otzyvu Mitropolita Iosifa o prisoedinivshikhsia k Pravoslaviiu prikhozhanakh Podberezkago R.[imsko] Katolicheskago kostela i ob obrashchenii togo kostela v Pravoslavnuiu tserkov'," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1137. Some local officials claimed that Streletskii converted to Orthodoxy "out of conviction, not for mercenary reasons": copy of letter from S. Raikovskii to M. Katkov, 26 June 1866, OR RGB, f. 120, p. 22, l. 46.

[84] Extract from I. Miller's letter to A. Zabelin, 10 September 1866, GARF, f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 700, l. 3. Storozhenko mocked such priests in his official correspondence: report from A. Storozhenko to governor general of Vil'na, 10 October 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 1380, l. 14–15.

[85] Report from the governor of Vil'na to the governor general of Vil'na, 6 July 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1357, l. 12.

[86] This information is contained in the file "Po predstavleniiu Vilenskago Gubernatora o peredelke Bystritskago R.[imsko] K.[atolicheskogo] Kostela, Vilenskago uezda v Pravoslavnuiu tserkov'," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1601.

[87] Note from the governor of Kovno to the head of Vil'komir district, 10 December 1864, LVIA, f. 1671, ap. 4, b. 98, l. 72.

[88] This information is contained in the files "O litsakh pol'skago proiskhozhdeniia priniavshikh pravoslavie," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 183; "O predlozhenii mest litsam priniavshim pravoslavie," KAA, f. 50, ap. 3, b. 899.

[89] Staliūnas, 2000b, 60.

[90] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the governor of Vil'na, 11 November 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 1798, l. 12.

[91] Haltzel, 1977, 21. There were more differences between the situation in the Western Province and what had happened in the Baltic gubernias in the 1840s: there when a person joined Orthodoxy he had to be present himself and collective requests were forbidden; written undertakings were collected from peasants, stating that they were converting solely for spiritual reasons and so forth. In addition we should also note that the difference between these two cases lay not only in the formal process of conversion but also in the various approaches of the local authorities and the Orthodox clergy. In

the Baltic gubernias, in comparison with the NWP, both the local authorities and the Orthodox clergy were less active and sometimes even cautious about mass conversions of local people: Gavrilin, 1999, 73–182. We may point preliminarily to several reasons which conditioned these different approaches in the Baltic and NWP: in the first case the authorities were dealing in Baltic Gubernias not with an inimical gentry, like the Poles, but with loyal Germans; ethnic Latvian and Estonian lands were usually not regarded as being Russian national territory, but just part of the empire; in the 1860s nationalism was much more popular among Russian civil servants than had been the case in the 1840s.

[92] Note from Metropolitan Iosif of Lithuania and Vilnius to the governor general of Vil'na, 31 May 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 1178, l. 11. But in 1864, according to certain information, peasants, who had only given a written undertaking concerning their desire to convert to Orthodoxy, but had as yet not been to church, and had changed their mind, were allowed to remain Catholic: secret report from an officer in the general staff of the Grodno gendarmerie to the head of the Third Section, 18 April 1864, GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1864, d. 82, l. 4–6.

[93] Confidential report from an officer in the general staff of the Vil'na gendarmerie to the governor general, 8 April 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 1155, l. 4–7; most secret report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 3 January 1872, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 354, l. 2. The Catholic clergy also indicated cases where Catholics listed as desiring to convert to Orthodoxy without their own knowledge: report from Fr J. Olszewski to Fr J. Bobkiewicz, 7 June 1865, LVIA, f. 604, ap. 5, b. 528, l. 1.

[94] Quite secret report from an officer in the general staff of the Vitebsk gendarmerie to the head of the Third Section, 18 February 1865, GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1864, d. 82, l. 7–9; report from the governor of Vitebsk to the governor general of Vil'na, 10 May 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 1331, d. 2, l. 5–8. In this case the author of the deception, Scribe Teikh, was prosecuted.

[95] Report of the governor general of Vil'na for 1871–1873, RGIA, f. 1263, op. 1, d. 3723, l. 39.

[96] Copy of request from the peasants of Zaslav Rural District (Minsk District, Minsk Gubernia), 15 June 1868, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1868, b. 1625, l. 17–18.

[97] Izvekov, 1899, 268–269. We can find confirmation of this in the files from the archive of the governor general of Vil'na now held in LVIA.

[98] Copy of letter from "one Russian landlord" from Slonim to N. Iumatov, 29 April 1866, GARF, f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 710, l. 26. Similar information was sent to the St Petersburg newspaper, *Golos*: extract from a

letter from Fedotov to A. Kraevskii, the editor of *Golos*, 17 August 1867, GARF, f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 700, l. 13–14.

[99] "Drunkenness is the basis of conversions. Those who give the written undertaking cooperate actively. They attempt to convert disobedient elements and those, who were detrimental to the cause through their influence on the masses, to the path of truth with various coercive measures, avoiding corporal punishment where possible and affecting more the imagination. Thus, for example, they are locked up for the night in a room where they usually lay out the dead; they are showered with cold water and left for the night in an ice room; they kneel or are forced to stand up all night, back to back and so on <…>": [A. Kirkor], Tract "The Present Condition of the North-West Gubernias," 28 May 1866, RGIA, f. 908, op. 1, d. 271, l. 18.

[100] Report from an officer in the general staff of the Vil'na gendarmerie to the head of the Third Section, October 1866 (day not indicated), GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1864, d. 82, l. 62.

[101] Copy of a response from A. Storozhenko to governor's of Vil'na note from 17 November 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 1331, d. 2, l. 64.

[102] Quotation from Sambuk, 1980, 146.

[103] Circular from the governor general of Vil'na, 27 July 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1615, l. 1.

[104] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to A. Storozhenko, 31 January 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1340, l. 1–3. More information is contained in the following files: "Po sobraniiu svedenii o r.[imsko] k.[atolicheskikh] monastyriakh, kostelakh, filiiakh, kaplitsakh, i o chisle r.[imsko] k.[atolicheskogo] naseleniia," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 2722; "O kostelakh, monastyriakh i chisle Rimsko Katolicheskago naseleniia po prikhodam Vilenskoi Gubernii," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 2273; "O monastyriakh, kostelakh i o chisle rimsko-katolicheskago naseleniia po Grodnenskoi gubernii," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 2274.

[105] The minute book of the Inspection Commission, 20 February 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 2526, l. 15–16.

[106] This information is contained in the file "O dostavlenii svedenii o zakrytykh v S[evero] Z[apadnom] krae s 1864 g.[oda] po 1 iiunia 1869 goda R[imsko] K[atolicheskikh] kostelakh, monastyriakh, filiiakh i kaplitsakh," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 946. These figures are hardly final. First of all, in this matter civil servants themselves corrected certain errors in their tables. Secondly, there were cases where closed churches were returned to believers. For example, this happened to chapel on the Mezhdules'e estate (Pruzhany District, Grodno Gubernia), which was closed down in 1866 but on 30 April 1869 a decision was taken (probably by the governor general) to return it to

the "landowner, Borejsza, for the burial of members of his family" (l. 10). We have classed this chapel among those closed down because in this case, most probably, prayers were forbidden there. Such a prohibition was placed on another building: the chapel on the Vokė Estate (Troki District, Vil'na Gubernia) belonging to Count J. Tyszkiewicz was returned to the owner after having been closed "as a family vault, on condition that no prayer services be held there" (l. 22). Thirdly, in some cases data on this matter do not coincide with other information available and this requires separate study.

[107] Ibid. Of course, not all the churches or chapels were converted consequently into Orthodox places of worship.

[108] Note from L. Makov On the status of Roman Catholic churches in the Western Province, GARF, f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 728, l. 3.

[109] This information is contained in the file "Po predstavleniiu Vitebskago gubernatora ob uprazdnenii 17ti (Semnadtsati) R.[imsko] K.[atolicheskikh] Kaplits v Sebezhskom uezde," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1868, b. 1587.

[110] Report from A. Storozhenko, 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1435, l. 1; report from the governor of Vil'na to the governor general of Vil'na, 16 April 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1359, l. 5; report from the governor of Grodno to the governor general of Vil'na, 9 March 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1131, l.1; note from the interior minister to the governor general of Vil'na, 30 December 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1335, l. 7.

[111] Report from the governor of Grodno to the governor general of Vil'na, 28 February 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1132, l. 1; report from the governor of Vitebsk to the governor general of Vil'na, 13 March 1868, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1868, b. 1610, l. 1–2; Jaroszewicz, 1994, 143.

[112] Report from the governor of Grodno to the governor general of Vil'na, 9 March 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1131, l.1; note from the interior minister to the governor general of Vil'na, 21 March 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1337, l. 5

[113] Report from the governor of Minsk to the governor general of Vil'na, 9 November 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1301, l. 2–3.

[114] LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 2274, l. 344–345. According to the available evidence, this church was not closed down.

[115] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to Metropolitan Iosif of Lithuania and Vilnius, 19 September 1867, LVIA, f. 694, ap. 1, b. 2257, l. 1.

[116] Note from the Orthodox bishop of Minsk and Bobruisk to the governor general of Vil'na, 25 January 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1367, l. 2; report from A. Strozhenko, 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1435, l. 1; report from A. Storozhenko to governor general of Vil'na, 31 January 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1354, l. 26; report from the governor of Vil'na to the

governor general of Vil'na, 3 April 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1142, l. 1; report from the governor of Grodno to the governor general of Vil'na, 23 August 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1262, l. 1.

117 "(Vil.gub.ved.), Poezdka v mestechko Ostrovets vilenskago uezda, po sluchaiu osviashcheniia tamoshnei tserkvi," *Vestnik Zapadnoi Rossii,* V year, 1867, book 1, vol. 1, section IV, 94–95.

118 For example, a Deputy Interior Minister A. Lobanov-Rostovskii at first did not give permission in 1867 to close down the Catholic church in Stvolovichesk (Novogrudok District, Minsk Gubernia) and turn it into an Orthodox church in part because the district scribe had signed the appeal on behalf of the illiterate Orthodox peasant converts. Lobanov-Rostovskii wished to be sure that these peasants really wanted to convert to Orthodoxy, but in the end the governor general of Vil'na, Baranov stood by his guns, claiming that he had to trust the reports of military chief, while, on the other hand, this church had to be closed all the same because it had a small number of parishioners. This information is contained in the file "Po zapiske D.[eistvitel'nogo] S.[tatskogo] Sov.[etnika] Storozhenki o skoreishem zakrytii Stvolovicheskago R[imsko] K[atolicheskogo] Kostela," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 1187.

119 Report from the governor of Mogilev to the governor general of Vil'na, 31 May 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1335, l. 3–4.

120 Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the governor of Minsk, 28 April 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1367, l. 8–9; report from the governor of Vil'na to the governor general of Vil'na, 23 November 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1292, l. 2–3; file "Po otnosheniiu Litovskago i Vilenskago Mitropolita, ob uprazdnenii Sumilishskago kostela i obrashchenii onago v prikhodskuiu pravoslavnuiu tserkov'," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1868, b. 1583.

121 Appeal of the plenipotentiary representatives of townsfolk and peasants of the district town of Pruzhany to the head of the Third Department, 7 January 1874, GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1866, d. 212, l. 54.

122 This information is contained in the file "Po predstavleniiu Nachal'nika Grodnenskoi gubernii, osnovannomu na khodataistve Pruzhanskikh dvorian i obyvatelei g.[oroda] Pruzhany dobrovol'no iz'iavivshikh zhelanie ustupit' stroiashchiisia tam katolicheskii kostel pod pravoslavnuiu tserkov'," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 1289.

123 Copy of letter from A. Gezen to M. Katkov, 2 December 1867, OR RGB, f. 120, p. 20, l. 90.

124 Report from the chief of gendarmerie in the Vil'na Gubernia to the head of the Third Section, 9 December 1865, GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1864, d. 82, l. 21.

[125] Cherevin, 1920, 66. The VED official V. Kulin also wrote about these five years: "five years would suffice to convert the whole country to Orthodoxy (with the exception of Žemaitija), of course": Kulin, 1867, 10.

[126] Draft of report from the governor general of Vil'na, 1870, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 324, l. 46–48. Rimskii claimed that under Potapov new Orthodox churches were built less intensively than under his predecessors: Rimskii, 1999, 383.

[127] Report of the governor general of Vil'na for 1871–1873, RGIA, f. 1263, op. 1, d. 3723, l. 39.

[128] Izvekov, 1899, 320–327.

[129] Cherevin, 1920, 65.

[130] In the words of one person then active in Vilnius, Aleksei Vladimirov, the new governor general even went so far as "to curse Orthodox clergy to their faces for forcibly converting Catholics to Orthodoxy": Vladimirov, 1893, 51. Governor Shestakov of Vil'na claimed that "Potapov ceaselessly tried to convince me that Orthodoxy had almost lost in the province": I. Shestakov, Memoirs, vol. 5, OR RNB, f. 856, d. 5, l. 330.

[131] Circular from the governor general of Vil'na, 17 September 1869, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 979, l. 5–6.

[132] The interior minister did not support Potapov's proposal to raise this issue in general and ordered that these problems be resolved privately. This information is contained in the file "Po predpolozheniiu ob iskhodaistvovanii Monarshego miloserdiia v pol'zu nekotorykh novoobrashchennykh iz R.[imsko] Katol.[ichestva], kotorye, za otklonenie ot ispolneniia obriadov Pravoslavnoi religii, byli prigovoreny sudom k sootvestvennym nakazaniiam," LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 354.

[133] File "O pensii Deistvitel'nomu Statskomu Sovetniku Storozhenke," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1868, b. 334.

[134] [M. Katkov], "Moskva, 9-go iiulia," *Moskovskie vedomosti,* 1866, no. 144. On situation in Baltic Gubernias in 1860s see Haltzel, 1977, 65–68; Thaden, 1981, 146–147; Rimskii, 1999, 189.

[135] Copy of note from the governor general On measures regarding persons converting from Latinism to Orthodoxy, 21 March 1867, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 308, l. 65.

[136] [A. Kirkor], Tract "Once more about Union," dated 15 September 1866, GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1864, d. 82, l. 81.

[137] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the Catholic consistory of Vil'na, 23 December 1864, LVIA, f. 604, ap. 5, b. 426, l. 30; report from A. Storozhenko to the governor general of Vil'na, 23 August 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1152, l. 83–91.

[138] Report from A. Strozhenko to the governor general of Vil'na, 16 March 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 1179, l. 1; report from the chief of the Vil'na gendarmerie to the governor general of Vil'na, 15 March 1868; report from the governor of Vil'na to the governor general of Vil'na, 19 July 1872, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1868, b. 1596, l. 1–2, 18–19; report from the chief of gendarmerie in Vil'na District to the officer in the general staff of the Vil'na gendarmerie, 22 July 1867, LVIA, f. 419, ap. 2, b. 249, l. 28–29.

[139] Secret note from Orthodox Bishop Makarii of Lithuania and Vilnius to the governor general of Vil'na, 4 September 1869, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 979, l. 1–4

[140] Report from the governor of Vil'na to the governor general of Vil'na, 7 March 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1181, l. 1; report by an officer in the general staff of the Vil'na gendarmerie to the head of the Third Section, 17 June 1866, GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1864, d. 82, l. 34–35.

[141] Report from the governor of Vil'na to the governor general of Vil'na, 7 April 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1137, l. 27.

[142] Končius, 1961, 41; Anglickienė, 1996, 52; Eidintas, 2002, 39.

[143] Report from the military chief of the Vil'na District to the governor general of Vil'na, 25 May 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1208, l. 1–2; file "Po otnosheniiu mitropolita Litovskago o zhelanii ksendza Strzheletskago priniat' pravoslavnoe sviashchenstvo," RGIA, f. 797, op. 36, otd. IV, d. 56; file "Po otnosheniiu Vil.[enskogo] General Gubernatora, ob otkomandirovanii iz Pskova v Vil'nu priniavshego pravoslavie ksendza Kozlovskago," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1431.

[144] Copy of note from the governor general of Vil'na On measures regarding Latin Converts to Orthodoxy, 21 March 1867, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 308, l. 62–65.

[145] Report from the chief of gendarmerie in Vil'na District, 6 October 1867, LVIA, f. 419, ap. 2, b. 249, l. 1.

[146] This information is contained in the file "Ob uchrezhdenii obshchestva Revnitelei Pravoslaviia i utverzhdenii ego ustava," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1868, b. 555; Orlovskii, 1903, 276.

[147] Note from the governor general of Vil'na, February 1867 (day not indicated), LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 308, l. 32.

[148] File "O Vysochaishe razreshennoi summe v kolichestve 10 t.[ysiachi] rublei – na ekstrennye v sluchaiakh perekhoda v Pravoslavie rimsko-katolikov i po peredelke Latinskikh kostelov v Pravoslavnye tserkvi," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1268; note by N. Derevitskii On the Roman Catholic clergy in the North Western Gubernias, 14 October 1867, LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1867, b. 603, l. 37.

149 See file "Po otzyvu Popechitelia Vilenskago Uchebnago Okruga, ob obrashchenii Grodnenskago Gimnazicheskago kostela v Pravoslavnuiu tserkov'," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1525. Orlovskii, 1901, 76–79. Another motive for not reconstructing the church was the fact that nearby stood the Orthodox Cathedral of St Sofia, which was attended by school-children too.

150 Note by N. Derevitskii On the Roman Catholic clergy in the North Western Gubernias, 14 October 1867, LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1867, b. 603, l. 37.

151 [A. Kirkor], Tract "The Present Condition of the North Western Gubernias," 28 May 1866, RGIA, f. 908, op. 1, d. 271, l. 12.

152 Copy of letter from I. Kornilov to M. Katkov, 1 September 1865, OR RGB, f. 120, p. 24, l. 92.

153 Copy of undated letter from S. Raikovskii to M. Katkov, OR RGB, f. 120, p. 24, l. 104.

154 Ibid., l. 105.

155 Similar motives stopped the authorities from adopting a policy of intense missionary activity in other parts of the empire too: Geraci and Khodarkovsky, 2001, 6–7, 339.

156 In the 1990s this topic was very interesting to Belarusian historians. This could be explained completely by the fact that supporters of this experiment thought that the Russian language should be introduced in places where Belarusians lived: Grigor'eva, 1992, 655–658; Grigor'eva, 2000, 184–186, Navicki, 1998, 87–89; Smalenczuk, 2002, 141–154.

157 We say "indirectly" because Lithuanian historians do not always know of the work of foreign scholars, while as a rule the latter do not read Lithuanian. Our first articles on this topic were published in Lithuanian: Staliūnas, 2000a, 125–137; Staliūnas, 2003b, 157–169. Soon a partly revised version of our first article was translated into Russian but the translation was published only in 2005: Staliūnas, 2005e, 570–588. This problem has been dealt with briefly in another article: Staliūnas, 2000b, 50–52.

158 Weeks, 2001c, 93–94, 104.

159 Merkys, 2002b, 62.

160 "These polemics did not involve two integral conceptions of Russian identity but loose and tangled constellations of concepts that variously combined premodern and modern, religious and secular visions of nationality and assimilation. Katkov's ideal of the loyal Russian (as distinct from Belarusian) Catholic, itself not free from internal contradictions, was substantially transformed in a bureaucratic consciousness that was poorly prepared to conceptualize the ethno-confessional ambiguity that distinguished entire population groups in the Northwestern region": Dolbilov, 2004c, 257; Dolbilov, Miller, 2006, 236–242, 277–279.

[161] Merkys, 2002b, 40.

[162] Staliūnas, 2003b, 157–169.

[163] Komzolova, 2005b, 319–323.

[164] Note On Introducing Russian into Supplementary Roman Catholic Services, presented to the DDDII, RGIA, f. 821, op. 125, d. 277, l. 233. The cause of prohibiting the use of Russian was a sermon delivered by B. Onikhimovskii in that language in the Catholic church in Tsarskoe Selo.

[165] The conversion of Orthodox Christians to other faiths was referred to in official, and to some degree in popular discourse too by the word *sovrashchenie* [seduction], while when Catholics in the Western Province converted to Orthodoxy, this was *vozvrashchenie* [returning to] or simply *perekhod* [transfer].

[166] Anonymous tract "On Spreading National Sentiment in the Empire's Western Gubernias," LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1837, b. 69, l. 16.

[167] The governor general informed the tsar that the "prayerbooks published in Žemaitijan often include prayers of a non-beneficial nature," and what is more, there is no chance to check up on preaching in that language: Extract from the most loyal note of the governor general of Vil'na On the condition of the province entrusted to him, 26 December 1851, RGIA, f. 821, op. 125, d. 323, l. 3–5.

[168] Decree On Preaching Sermons in Catholic Churches in the Kovno Gubernia in Žemaitijan, confirmed by the tsar on 22 February 1852, RGIA, f. 821, op. 125, d. 323, l. 7–9; Vidmantas, 1995, 62.

[169] Note On Introducing Russian into Supplementary Roman Catholic Services, presented to the DDDII, RGIA, f. 821, op. 125, d. 277, l. 234.

[170] The view of local officials on this issue before Murav'ev was appointed govenor general of Vil'na is presented in Chapter Six. Only for Lithuanians was instruction given in Lithuanian: Copy of report from the VED overseer to the acting minister of education, 9 November 1862, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 629, l. 39.

[171] Copy of circular from the governor general of Vil'na, 1 January 1864, Tyla, 1973, 66.

[172] Ibid.; extract from VED annual report for 1864, Kornilov, 1898a, 59–60.

[173] This information is contained in the file "O prepodavanii rimsko-katolicheskago katikhizisa na russkom iazyke," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 199. In his report for 1863 the VED overseer spoke out in favour of replacing Polish in religious instruction in middle schools with Lithuanian or Russian for Lithuanians; nevertheless later, when the bishop Valančius requested the introduction of Lithuanian, Murav'ev refused: VED Report for 1863, Kornilov, 1898a, 14; LVIA, f. 1671, ap. 4, b. 98, l. 66. VED overseer Kornilov took the

initiative himself to extend this measure to the teaching of the Calvinist Catechism in the Slutsk Grammar School, but Murav'ev ordered this instruction to be repealed: LVIA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 199, l. 27, 34. It is interesting that later Murav'ev's apologists would assert that it was he who opposed the introduction of Catholic religious instruction in Russian: Milovidov, 1900, 36.

[174] Draft of note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of education, 30 November 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 640, l. 93. The quotation given above was crossed out, but it this case we are more interested in what the author of this text thought, rather than the text which the addressee received.

[175] Russkii [?], "Golos iz obshchestva (Otryvok iz pis'ma v redaktsiiu)," *Vilenskii vestnik,* 1866, no. 1.

[176] Letter from N. Novikov to M. Katkov, 24 August 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 500, l. 14.

[177] Ibid.

[178] Report from VED Overseer's Assistant A. Serno-Solov'evich to the VED overseer, 16 March 1865, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 239, l. 1–2. This official showed such zeal after receiving two inquiries at the end of 1864: "in which language is the Roman Catholic catechism taught in schools entrusted to your management?" and "on the influence of measures taken to eradicate the Polish language from educational establishments and the consolidation of the Russian language therein."

[179] Report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 28 May 1865; note from the governor general to the VED overseer, 5 June 1865; circular from the VED overseer to directors of schools, 27 August 1865, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 239, l. 4–9, 10, 20. So far it is hard to tell how Murav'ev reacted to this initiative. In the draft copy of his note to Kaufman Kornilov noted that he had informed Murav'ev of this initiative from the director of schools in the Mogilev Gubernia at the time, but this documents does not bear a date or number for such a note: report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 28 May 1865, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 239, l. 9. Therefore it may be that Murav'ev did not know about it. It is not difficult to suppose that he would have reacted very negatively to such self will on the part of a local bureaucrat because such a step was taken unbeknownst to him. Even the VED overseer was unable to take such steps without obtaining the agreement of the "province's chief official" in advance. But even if Murav'ev had been informed of this move, no instructions followed for applying the measure to "people's schools" in the NWP.

[180] Report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 28 May 1865, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 239, l. 8.

[181] Circular from the VED overseer to directors of schools, 27 August 1865, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 239, l. 20.

[182] Merkys, 1999, 671–672.

[183] Copy of report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 28 May 1865, LVIA, f. 439, ap. 1, b. 69, l. 9.

[184] Note from the Ministry of Education to the VED overseer, 8 December 1865, note from the education minister to the VED overseer, 28 January 1867, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 239, l. 60, 173.

[185] Note from the education minister to the VED overseer, 9 May 1870, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 370, l. 98.

[186] Copy of note from the VED overseer, 14 February 1863, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 629, l. 181.

[187] Note from Kryzhanovskii, LVIA, f. 439, ap. 1, b. 43, l. 12.

[188] Copy of letter from K. Kaufman to M. Katkov, 21 October 1865, OR RGB, f. 120, p. 21, l. 100–104.

[189] Note from the interior minister to the governor general of Vil'na, 2 November, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1360, l. 72.

[190] In the Vladimirov case it is interesting that his wife, Ekaterina Chakgorn', was a British subject and an Anglican (the appeal of A. Vladimirov to the VED overseer, requesting permission to marry, 3 June 1865, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 3, b. 1428, l. 6). Thus Vladimirov may have had personal motives for campaigning for "Russian Catholicism."

[191] It is very possible that A. Vladimirov's appeal was the specific driving force behind the discussion of this issue by the Inspection Commission. This is supported by A. Vladimirov: Vladimirov, 1896, 67–70. His considerations are dated to 25 January 1866: A. Vladimirov's tract on the language of Catholic worship in the NWP, RGIA, f. 821, op. 150, d. 584, l. 1–4. Kaufman commented on this note on 29 January, writing among other things, that the Inspection Commission had been instructed to "discuss what measures should be taken in advance." In the governor general's instructions to the Inspection Commission (31 January 1866) the point on "the non-use of Polish in sermons preached to the people by priests" was added later: note from the governor general of Vil'na to A. Storozhenko, 31 January 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1340, l. 3. Furthermore, the next governor general, Baranov, recalled that Kaufman had given the Inspection Commission instructions to discuss this issue after receiving "private notes" on the matter: note from the governor general of Vil'na to the over-procurator of the Holy Synod, 23 May 1867, RGIA, f. 797, op. 37, I otd., I stol, d. 156, l. 1.

[192] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to A. Storozhenko, 31 January 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1340, l. 2.

[193] [Katkov], "Moskva, 4-go dekabria," *Moskovskie vedomosti,* 1865, no. 268.

[194] [Katkov], "Moskva, 1-go avgusta," *Moskovskie vedomosti,* 1863, no. 168. Here we should note that the small number of ethnic Russian Catholics, representatives of a movement, which formed in the 1830s-1840s, and were forced to emigrate, stood up for the introduction of "national languages," including Russian, in Catholic services, but condemned the government's forced measures for introducing Russian in the Western Province: Tsimbaeva, 1999, 130.

[195] Copy of letter from A. Gezen to M. Katkov, 5 November (year not indicated), OR RGB, f. 120, p. 20, l. 139.

[196] [Katkov], "Moskva, 2-go aprelia," *Moskovskie vedomosti*, 1864, no. 75.

[197] A. Vladimirov's tract on the language of Catholic worship in the NWP, 25 January 1866, RGIA, f. 821, op. 150, d. 584, l. 1.

[198] [Katkov], "Moskva, 1-go fevralia," *Moskovskie vedomosti,* 1866, no. 26.

[199] For more on this issue, see Staliūnas, 2000a, 129–130. In general we should note that Vilnius followed constantly the appearance of publications in *Moskovskie vedomosti*: A. Laptev's tract on introducing Russian Catholicism in the NWP, 22 July 1866, RGIA, f. 821, op. 150, d. 584, l. 147. On the other hand, Katkov himself was interested in which opinion was dominant in Vilnius. For example, he appealed to Governor General Baranov of Vil'na (in office in Vilnius from 9 October 1866 to 2 March 1868), attempting via a third party to find out his opinion on this matter: note from the governor general of Vil'na to the over-procurator of the Holy Synod, 23 May 1867, RGIA, f. 797, op. 37, I otd., I stol, d. 156, l. 1. What is more, the editor of *Moskovskie vedomosti* had many trustworthy people in the NWP, who kept him informed regularly of all that happened there (copies of these reports are held in the Manuscript Division of RGB, F. 120). In addition, thanks to Avgust Gezen, a Catholic employed in the DDDII, Katkov knew perfectly well of the situation in that institution, including the views of its civil servants concerning the issue under discussion here (very many of his letters to Katkov are extant: OR RGB, f. 120, p. 20, l. 67–175).

[200] [Katkov], "Moskva, 9-go avgusta," *Moskovskie vedomosti,* 1863, no. 174.

[201] See Chapter Six.

[202] A. Vladimirov's tract on the language of Catholic worship in the NWP, 25 January 1866; copy of tract from A. Storozhenko, 10 May 1866, RGIA, f. 821, op. 150, d. 584, l. 3, 12.

[203] Vladimirov, 1896, 68–70.

[204] Tracts from A. Storozhenko, 6 and 10 May 1866, RGIA, f. 821, op. 150, d. 584, l. 5–8, 9–12, quotation: l. 7.

[205] A. Vladimirov's tract on the language of Catholic worship in the NWP, 25 January 1866, RGIA, f. 821, op. 150, d. 584, l. 3.

[206] Govorskii's tract on the language of religious services in RC churches, RGIA, f. 821, op. 150, d. 584, l. 94–109. Admittedly, Govorskii was not sure that Russian really had to be introduced to replace Polish. In his report he also discussed the possibility of using only Latin in all Catholic services. In addition he proposed that this innovation be applied only to Western Russia.

[207] The minute book of the Inspection Commission, 28 July 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 2522, l. 52. K. Govorskii's tract, RGIA, f. 821, op. 125, d. 294, l. 19–84.

[208] The minute book of the Inspection Commission, 7 March 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 2522, l. 8–9.

[209] Vladimirov, 1896, 71.

[210] Aksakov, 1886, 40–41. Similar thoughts can be found in other documents: letter from VED Overseer I. Kornilov to Deputy Education Minister I. Delianov, 24 July 1866, Kornilov, 1908, 219–222; copy of a confidential note from Metropolitan Iosif of Lithuania and Vilnius to the over-procurator of the Holy Synod, 1 February 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1360, l. 100; V. Kulin's tract, 27 June 1866, RGIA, f. 821, op. 150, d. 584, l. 38–53.

[211] M. Koialovich, "*Moskovskie vedomosti* i Zapadnaia Rossiia (Russkoe latinstvo, russkoe zhidovstvo)," *Vilenskii vestnik,* 1866, no. 148.

[212] V. Ratch's tract, RGIA, f. 821, op. 150, d. 584, l. 63, 68–69.

[213] Letter from B. Markevich to M. Katkov, 5 September 1866, OR RGB, f. 120, k. 7, d. 30, l. 1–2. Govorskii, according to Raikovskii, was also an opponent of this measure after his trip around the Grodno Gubernia, where he saw the Catholic population rushing to become Orthodox: copy of letter from S. Raikovskii to M. Katkov, 26 June 1866, OR RGB, f. 120, p. 22, l. 46. The term "Vilnius clericals" was used in A. Gezen's letter to M. Katkov, 27 June 1866, OR RGB, f. 120 p. 20, l. 70.

[214] Note on the activities of the Inspection Commission, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1340, l. 46.

[215] Copy of a letter from K. Kaufman to M. Katkov, 21 October 1865, OR RGB, f. 120, p. 21, l. 103–104. A month later he was also more cautious, explaining his stance to the interior minister, Valuev. This time he explained his position on the possibility of introducing Belarusian instead of Polish in supplementary services. The governor general gave preference not to Belarusian but to Russian, because "the people here understand Russian well," but he proposed not to hurry until the Holy Synod took a position on

this issue: report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 27 November 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1360, l. 74–75.

[216] Letter from VED Overseer I. Kornilov to Deputy Education Minister I. Delianov, 24 July 1866, Kornilov, 1908, 222.

[217] Copy of undated letter from I. Kornilov to M. Katkov, OR RGB, f. 120, p. 21, l. 147. In another letter the VED overseer explained to the editor of *Moskovskie vedomosti* that the authorities were unable to prevent the spread of Catholic literature among the Orthodox community: "how can a peasant tell which prayerbook or catechism is Orthodox and which is Catholic? You say that we must prevent the spread of Russian Catholic books among the people. Learn how to do this in the homeland of Jews and Poles and then in the realm of scoundrels, smuggling and propaganda": copy of undated letter from I. Kornilov to M. Katkov, ibid., l. 151. Such fears for Orthodoxy can be found in texts from other VED officials: letter from N. Novikov to M. Katkov, 24 August 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 500, l. 16.

[218] Extract from the letter from S.L.[?] from Grodno to S. Dzhunkovskii, 5 September 1866, GARF, f. 109, op. 2, d. 710, l. 38–39; copy of a letter from N. Voskoboinikov to M. Katkov, 28 September 1866, OR RGB, f. 120, p. 24, l. 104. In 1844 S. Dzhunkovskii set off abroad to propagate Orthodoxy but in Rome he converted to Catholicism and even joined the Jesuits, proposed reforming the Catholic Church (including the abolition of celibacy) and for many years he worked as a missionary. In the 1860s he converted back to Orthodoxy and returned to Russia.

[219] V. Samarin's tract, 7 March 1866, RGIA, f. 821, op. 150, d. 584, l. 15–22.

[220] Bezsonov, 1867, 1, 7.

[221] For some reason Bessonov's tract is not in the DDDII file together with other tracts from members of the Inspection Commission and persons invited to attend it: "Ob iz'iatii iz r.[imsko]-katolicheskago ispovedaniia Rossii pol'skago iazyka," RGIA, f. 821, op. 150, d. 584. We know of it only from a published version: *O vvedenii russkago iazyka v rimsko-katolicheskoe bogosluzhenie.* St Petersburg, 1867. We will deal with this booklet later.

[222] Speaking of the long time needed for preparing for the introduction of Russian into Catholic churches, Bessonov apparently did not notice that the "Vilnius clericals," in so far as we can tell from extant evidence, took this measure as the first step on the road to uniting Belarusian Catholics with Orthodoxy.

[223] Bezsonov, 1867, 10.

[224] Ibid., 22.

[225] Admittedly, we should note that Bessonov proposed taking the path of gradual change, that is, for example, at the beginning Polish should not be

completely forbidden in sermons, but the number of such sermons should be restricted along with the number of churches where they could be delivered; sermons that were allowed to be delivered should be selected strictly and so forth. It was also necessary to deal in the same way with prayerbooks by subjecting them to strict censorship and forbidding them to be read aloud in churches etc.

[226] Note from the over-procurator of the Holy Synod to the governor general of Vil'na, 16 June 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1360, l. 87–88. The same document: RGIA, f. 797, op. 35, IV otd., d. 289, l. 8–10.

[227] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the over-procurator of the Holy Synod, 23 May 1867, RGIA, f. 797, op. 37, I otd., I stol, d. 156, l. 1–6.

[228] *O vvedenii russkago iazyka v rimsko-katolicheskoe bogosluzhenie.* St Petersburg, 1867.

[229] Reports from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 6 June, 24 and 27 July, 9 September 1869, RGIA, f. 821, op. 125, d. 277, l. 34–40, 51, 52, 65–66.

[230] Secret note from the interior minister to the war minister, 18 February 1868; note from the war minister to the interior minister, 29 February 1869, RGIA, f. 821, op. 125, d. 277, l. 15, 20; Alexander's II Decree, LVIA, f. 669, ap. 3, b. 1141, l. 1.

[231] "Vil'na, 5-oktiabria," *Vilenskii vestnik,* 1868, no. 112, Merkys, 2002b, 53–56.

[232] Copy of the Holy Synod's resolution, 7 August 1868, RGIA, f. 797, op. 37, I otd., I stol, d. 156, l. 39–40.

[233] Note from the interior minister to the governor general of Vil'na, 7 July 1869, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 1372, l. 74–82.

[234] Copy of report from of the military chief of the Lepel' District to the governor of Vitebsk, 7 January 1868, RGIA, f. 797, op. 37, I otd., I stol, d. 156, l. 20–21. Some publicist claimed that these prayers were being said in Russian as early as 1862 by Father Makarevich, priest in charge of the Catholic church in Bobruisk Fort, but we have been unable to find archival data to confirm this: Chikhachev, 1913, 14. These prayers were printed in Russian in Rubritsel on the orders of the governor general of Vil'na in 1868. This information is contained in the file "Po predlozheniiu Gubernatoram o pechatanii na budushchii 1868 g.[od] rubritsel' Rimsko-Katolicheskikh Eparkhii na Russkom iazyke," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 1367.

[235] Merkys, 2002b, 49–53.

[236] The report of the DDDII on discussions in the Special Committee on the Use of Russian in the Worship of Foreign Confessions, RGIA, f. 821, op. 125, d. 277, l. 55–64.

[237] Minutes of the Special Committee on the Use of Russian in the Religious Affairs of Foreign Confessions, 16 December 1869, RGIA, f. 821, op. 125, d. 277, l. 68–70. The Committee also stressed that these measures were not to affect the liturgical part of worship so that Latin would be used in the Mass, as previously. Such decisions as those regarding the teaching of Catholic religious instruction in Russian in certain educational establishments, which had been made earlier, remained compulsory.

[238] Copy of a circular from the governor general of Vil'na to governors, 12 February 1870, RGIA, f. 821, op. 125, d. 277, l. 176–177.

[239] Vladimirov, 1896, 132.

[240] Minutes of the Special Committee on the Use of Russian in the Religious Affairs of Foreign Confessions, 16 December 1869, RGIA, f. 821, op. 125, d. 277, l. 68.

[241] Merkys, 2002b, 46. These talks were held because the Concordat between Russian and Holy See was dissolved in 1866.

[242] Dolbilov, Miller, 2006, 276–277.

[243] Boudou, 1930, 436–437.

[244] Merkys, 2002b, 57–59.

[245] Report from the governor of Minsk concerning the situation facing the Catholic Church in the Minsk Gubernia, 1884, RGIA, f. 821, op. 138, d. 19, l. 517–518; Smalenchuk, 2002, 146; Merkys, 2002b, 59.

[246] Merkys, 2002b, 58.

[247] Report from the governor of Minsk concerning the situation facing the Catholic Church in the Minsk Gubernia, 1884, RGIA, f. 821, op. 138, d. 19, l. 524–525.

[248] Previously this school was maintained by the Vilnius Calvinist Synod, but in 1865 the authorities decided to reform it as a grammar school and subject it to VED management. This information is contained in the file "O podchinenii Slutskoi Reformatorskoi gimnazii neposredstvennomu nadzoru uchilishchnago Nachal'stva," LVIA, f. 567, ap 3, b. 1275.

[249] See the files "O vvedenii v Slutskoi Gimnazicheskoi Reformatorskoi tserkvi bogosluzheniia na russkom iazyke," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1868, b. 1747; "Po otzyvu Grafa Siversa, o vvedenii Russkago iazyka, vmesto pol'skago, v reformatorskoe bogosluzhenie v S.[evero] Z.[apadnom] Krae," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1872, b. 1356.

[250] See earlier articles on this topic – Staliūnas, 2002a, 127–40; Dolbilov, Staliūnas, 2005a, 3–34.

[251] Tract On How to End the Abnormal Situation in the Western Gubernias, GARF, f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 707, l. 3–67. Accompanying note from

the head of the Fourth Department of the gendarmerie, A. Kutsinskii to the chief of gendarmes and head of the Third Department, 12 October 1865, ibid., l. 1–2. This tract is also held in the fond of DDDII: RGIA, f. 821, op. 138, d. 19, l. 18–70. This document is in a file with the title of "Various Tracts on Matters Roman Catholic" without a date indicating when it was sent to the ministry.

[252] From the point of view of Orthodox religious teaching, the term "catholic" [*kafolicheskaia*] could be used to refer only to the Orthodox Church: for more on this issue see – Dolbilov, Staliūnas, 2005a, 16. This could mean that the author of the project must have been a Roman Catholic, not a Russian Orthodox. But we might also suppose that the term "Russian Catholic Church" [*Rossiiskaia Kafolicheskaia Tserkov'*] was used because it would indeed soon become truly "catholic," [*kafolicheskaia*], that is, Orthodox.

[253] Merkys has discussed the plans to remove M. Valančius from his see: Merkys, 1999, 560–569.

[254] On the problem of authorship see Staliūnas, 2002a, 132–139; Dolbilov, Staliūnas, 2005a, 17–24. Previous scholars have associated this projected solely with Prószyński: Boudou, 1930, 421; Głębocki, 2000, 498.

[255] The first anonymous tract The Present Condition of the North Western Gubernias, 28 May 1866, reached the Interior Ministry and the Third Department. Its author criticised the practice of forced conversions to Orthodoxy as practised under Kaufman, and drew attention to his earlier proposals, which can be dated exactly according to the covering letter from Kutsinskii: A copy of tract The Present Condition of the North Western Gubernias, 28 May 1866, RGIA, f. 908, op. 1, d. 271; there is a copy of the tract in the Third Department's archive along with Kutsinskii's covering note: GARF, f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 713, l. 3–59. It may very well be that this tract reached Valuev only at the beginning of October 1866, on the day when the tsar took the decision, in anxiety at reports of abuses on the part of officials in the NWP, to replace Kaufman. Valuev's diary entry for 2 October says "I saw <...> General Kutsinskii, who brought a pile of tracts about the administration of General Kaufman": Valuev, 1961, vol. 2, 153. The second anonymous tract under the title Once More about Union, dated 15 September 1866 reached the Third Department in October that year. It presents very concsisely the arguments in favour of the Union, which we see in earlier notes. In addition the author attempted to make use of the changes of mood that took place among higher government circles after Karakozov made an attempt on the life of Alexander II. Here stress is placed on links between officials in the NWP involved with converting peasants to Orthodoxy and various new social teachings: GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, 1864, d. 82, l. 81–82.

[256] He was exempted from paying the percentage tax at the request of Archbishop Antonii: LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 853.

[257] From a Russian translation of Prószyński's address: LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1869, b. 246, l. 18.

[258] Stolzman, 1973, 36; Kirkor, 1978, 21.

[259] On Kirkor, see, for example Brensztejn, 1930; Stolzman, 1973; Kirkor, 1978; Kulakauskas, 1988, 75–98; Medišauskienė, 1996, 168–193; Staliūnas, 2001, 310–325.

[260] Okreits, 1916, 627–628.

[261] Excerpt from N. Voskoboinikov's letter to M. Katkov, 1 September (year not indicated), GARF, f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 734, l. 12.

[262] Tract Once More about Union, 15 September 1866, GARF, f. 109, 1 ekspeditsiia, op. 39, 1864, d. 82, l. 82.

[263] Note from N. Derevitskii, 19 June 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 2269, l. 3.

[264] This information is contained in the file "Sekretnyia pis'ma preosveshchennago Minskago Antoniia, o litsakh rimsko katolicheskago dukhovenstva, raspolozhennykh k nashei tserkvi," RGIA, f. 797, op. 87, d. 25. For more detail, see Dolbilov, Staliūnas, 2005a, 5–8.

[265] For more detail, see Dolbilov, Staliūnas, 2005a, 7–8.

[266] Zubko, 1901, 15; LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 1461, l. 8.

[267] LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 1461, l. 6. We do not know much of Zausciński's views. In 1865 he was sent by the governor general to the Kovno Gubernia to serve the spiritual needs of the military and he was accused by Bishop Valančius of attempting to convert Catholics to Orthodoxy: secret report from the chief of the Kovno gendarmerie, 8 March 1865, KAA, f. 50, ap. 3, b. 698, l. 2. Later, in 1866 he was invited as an expert onto the Inspection Commission. In a tract presented to the Commission he spoke in favour of introducing the use of Russian in supplementary Catholic services and, pointing to new anti-papal sentiments among "foreign Catholics," he expressed confidence in the possibility of uniting all Christian Churches soon: "Give it a few years and we shall indeed see the great idea of uniting the Churches, which is being put forward so successfully at present and being discussed jointly by the Orthodox clergy and the Anglicans," Zausciński's tract, 22 October 1866, RGIA, f. 821, op. 150, d. 584, l. 161–164. Murav'ev's secretary, Mosolov, alleges in his memoirs that Zausciński "preached eloquently to the peasants that they were Russian and that they could only be happy in union with the dominant national group and Church": Mosolov, 1898, 170–171. Answering to criticism from *Dziennik Poznański* in

1869 Zausciński wrote as follows: "actually we can say one thing: being Russian by descent and sentiment, albeit a professed Catholic, I have always cherished the conviction that the wellbeing of the Roman Catholic Church within the Russian state can be based only on the sincere and fullest subjection of Her members to the Russian government and the interests of Russia, and thus, as I remain a strict implementer of all the rules and canons of the Roman Catholic Church, I have always tried, and shall try henceforth at the same time in my words and in my actions to prove that I am a faithful son of my fatherland and a heartfelt faithful subject of our common Benefactor, His Majesty The Tsar": letter from Zausciński to *Minskie gubernskie vedomosti*, 29 June 1869, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 1509, l. 2.

[268] This information is contained in the file "O rasprostranivshikhsia slukhakh mezhdu Shavel'skim r.[imsko] katolicheskim naseleniem otnositel'no presledovaniia ikh religii i vospreshcheniia katolikam priznavat' papu glavoiu tserkvi," LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1867, b. 23.

[269] Cherevin, 1920, 66.

[270] Proposals from the Potapov, governor general of Vil'na's assistant, 1865, GARF, f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 758a, l. 26.

[271] Copy of letter from A. Gezen to M. Katkov, 6 April 1870, OR RGB, f. 120, k. 20, l. 123.

[272] Accompanying note from the head of the Fourth Department of the Gendarmerie, A. Kutsinskii to the chief of gendarmes and head of the Third Department, 12 October 1865, GARF, f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 707, l. 1–2.

[273] An indirect confirmation of this may be provided by the fact that Prószyński's proposals, included in Archbishop Antonii's letter as addressed to Kaufman, reached the Third Department. It may be that the governor general of Vil'na felt sympathy for the initiative and passed the letter on to the capital.

[274] In the early 1870s Kirkor asserted that Kaufman had handed over the 1865 Church Union tract to the Inspection Commission to examine and although the Commission's chairman, Storozhenko welcomed the idea, certain other members, who did not wish to make any compromise towards Catholicism and counted on eradicating the Catholic Church from the Western Gubernias via forced conversions, did not support the idea: letter from A. Kirkor to J. Kraszewski, June 1873, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cracow, rkps. 6509, l. 544. This information is confirmed in part by Kaufman's comments on the tract of a commission member, Derevitskii, who in June 1866, following a conversation in Kaunas with Archbishop Antonii reported the words of the latter to the governor general concerning Prószyński's proposals regarding the "establishment of a western catholic diocese,

independent of Rome": "Presenting this tract [by Derevitskii] to the Inspection Commission," note from N. Derevitskii to the governor general of Vil'na, 19 June 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 2269, l. 3–4. Admittedly, the Commission's diaries do not record the discussion of this tract, let alone the tract called How to End the Abnormal Situation in the Western Gubernias. Therefore we may suppose that this project was discussed at a very unofficial level.

[275] Vinter, 1964, 316–330; Serova, 2003, 46–47.

VI. Metamorphoses in Language Policy

[1] Sussex, 1985, 111–127.

[2] According to this hierarchy, most attention should be paid in this chapter on imperial language policy to Polish. However, the problems faced by Polish have been dealt with in part in earlier chapters (especially Chapter Five) and so we will pay less attention to it here.

[3] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the VED overseer, 23 February 1864, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 4, b. 946, l. 1–2.

[4] There are several important studies of this topic. Medišauskienė has researched in depth the authorities' policy towards censoring books: Medišauskienė, 1998, 204–216. Rodkiewicz discussed the measures taken by the imperial authorities against Polish in the 1870s very briefly, while paying more attention to the situation at the end of the nineteenth century: Rodkiewicz, 1998, 166–172. Głębocki has made an in-depth presentation of the origins of Hil'ferding's proposal to adapt Cyrillic for all Slavonic languages: Głębocki, 2005, 135–166; Głębocki, 2006, 186–244. Boris Uspenskii has discussed earlier projects for replacing the traditional Polish alphabet with Cyrillic: Uspenskii, 2004, 1–38.

[5] This information is contained in the file "Ob unichtozhenii v gorodakh i mestechkakh vyvesok s pol'skimi nadpisiami," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 271; circular from the governor general of Vil'na, 24 March 1864, Tsylov, 1866, 50–51.

[6] Circulars the from governor general of Vil'na, 24 May 1863, 12 February 1864, 15 March 1865, Tsylov 1866, 279–280.

[7] Circular from the governor general of Vil'na, 28 March 1864, Tsylov, 1866, 25.

[8] Kozłowska-Studnicka, 1921, 594–598; Merkys, 2002b, 37; Merkys, 2002a, 287.

[9] This information is contained in the file "Ob izdanii Litovsko-Pol'sko-latyshsko-russkago slovaria b.[yvshym] nastoiatelem ksendzom Mezhitovichem," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 441.

[10] Romanowski, 2003, 70.

[11] Milovidov, 1914, 18; Romanowski, 2003, 63.

[12] This information is contained in the file "Po raportu Revizionnoi Kommissii uchrezhdennoi v g.[orode] Vil'ne po delam R[imsko] K.[atolicheskogo] Dukhovenstva, o nedopushchenii pol'skago iazyka v nadpisiakh i nagrobnykh pamiatnikakh vystavliaemykh na inovercheskikh kladbishchakh," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1868, b. 1575. Senchikovskii claimed that he had already introduced such a prohibition in his own parish. The authorities also did not forbid Lithuanian inscriptions on tombstones in the Latin alphabet.

[13] Miller, 2006b, 81–82.

[14] N. Novikov's correspondence with I. Aksakov "from a Žemaitijan village in the Tel'shi District of the Kovno Gubernia," OR RNB, f. 523, d. 497, l. 1.

[15] File "O vvedenii v uchebnykh zavedeniiakh Vilenskago uchebnago Okruga prepodavaniia Pol'skago iazyka i o preobrazovanii uchebnoi chasti v dvorianskikh uchilishchakh i 4-kh klassnykh otdeleniiakh, a takzhe o zakrytii 4-kh klassnago otdeleniia pri Grodn.[enskoi] Gimnazii i Lidskago uezdnago Dvorianskago Uchilishcha," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 4, b. 617.

[16] On 9 June 1860 the gentry of the Kiev Gubernia decided to petition the tsar to allow Polish to be taught as a subject in the University of Kiev, grammar schools and cadet corps. After finding out about such a move the tsar reacted severely: "I am most sorry, but they will receive a negative response": report from the governor general of Kiev to tsar with Alexander's response, 11 June 1860, RGIA, f. 982, op. 1, d. 43, l. 1. This means that the SWP was "more Russian" in the tsar's opinion than the NWP, where this "privilege" had already been granted. However, on 16 June and 6 September 1860 the tsar issued decrees allowing Polish to be taught as a voluntary special subject in the grammar schools and gentry schools within the gubernias of Kiev, Volyn and Podolia: Rozhdestvenskii, 1902, 383.

[17] Staliūnas, 2000c, 64.

[18] Furthermore, the authorities along with Murav'ev and the Orthodox bishop of Lithuania, Iosif, were anxious lest the Orthodox clergy use Polish among themselves: file "O vnushenii tserkovnosluzhiteliam upotrebliat' v razgovorakh russkii iazyk," LVIA, f. 605, ap. 8, b. 310; Kiprianovich, 1897, 422–423.

[19] Note from the minister of education to the VED overseer, 5 August 1863, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 21, b. 15, l. 24; Miller, 2000, 114; Komzolova, 2005b, 146–147. While these discussions were taking place in St Petersburg Murav'ev

instructed his subordinates to ensure that Polish language lessons in girls' grammar schools were not compulsory: circular from the governor general of Vil'na, 18 July 1863, Tsylov, 1866, 279.

[20] Sholkovich, 1887, 312.

[21] 1864 report from the the Kovno Directorate of Schools, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 3, b. 1295, l. 421.

[22] Lukšienė, 1970, 243; Tyla, 1990, 50; Merkys, 1999, 298–299.

[23] Draft of note from the governor general of Vil'na to the education minister, 1 February 1863, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 629, l. 92–93.

[24] For more on this issue, see Section "Problems with the Status of Belarusian" of this chapter.

[25] Circular from the governor general of Vil'na, 1 January 1864, Tyla, 1973, 65–67.

[26] Report from the chief of the Sventsiany Gendarmerie Command (Vil'na Gubernia) to the chief of the Vil'na gendarmerie, 17 March 1868, LVIA, f. 419, ap. 2, b. 276, l. 16.

[27] Anonymous, undated secret report on underground schools in the NWP and the possibilities and means for persecuting them, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 120, l. 24–25.

[28] Circular from the governor general of Vil'na, 23 July 1866, LVIA, f. 380, ap. 101, b. 3753, l. 50–53; Medišauskienė, 1998, 204–215; Merkys, 2002b, 40.

[29] This information is contained in the file "Ob unichtozhenii uchebnikov na pol'skom iazyke," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 4, b. 1095.

[30] Circular from the governor general of Vil'na, 23 July 1866, LVIA, f. 380, ap. 101, b. 3884, l. 47–47a. The VED overseer had proposed a year earlier to abolish the Latin alphabet. Admittedly, at the time he was trying to prevent the publication of Lithuanian or Latvian texts: report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 10 August 1865, LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1865, b. 442, d. 6, l. 326–328. By the beginning of 1867 the gubernia's official press was allowed to keep Latin type. This press published books dealing with history: note from the governor of Vil'na to the official for special affairs, P. Morents, 12 January 1867, LVIA, f. 380, ap. 101, b. 3753, l. 266.

[31] Note from the governor of Vil'na to the official for special affairs, P. Morents, 16 July 1869, LVIA, f. 380, ap. 101, b. 3884, l. 65. This permission was given on Potapov's instruction. It is interesting that just a month earlier Adam Zawadzki's press was forbidden by the governor of Vil'na from keeping this type: note from the governor of Vil'na to the official for special affairs, P. Morents, 11 June 1869, LVIA, f. 380, ap. 101, b. 3884, l. 46.

[32] Sambuk, 1980, 89.

[33] Uspenskii, 2004, 1–38.

[34] Poles willingly reminded their opponents of the findings of the first commission on adapting Cyrillic for use in the Polish language in the 1860s, when the imperial authorities returned to this experiment: letter from A. Rachinskii to M. Pogodin, 27 August 1868, OR RGB, f. 231/II, k. 27, d. 61, l. 16.

[35] Głębocki, 2006, 209.

[36] Hil'ferding, 1868, 350–360.

[37] Głębocki, 2006, 215–216.

[38] S. Shipov claimed that the Poles differed only slightly from Russians, and only by language, and that this difference was not very great: tract from S. Shipov to governor general of Vil'na, 13 October 1864, LVIA, f. 439, ap. 1, b. 45, l. 3.

[39] Głębocki, 2005, 135–166.

[40] Letter from S. Mikucki to N. Popov, 8 April 1869, OR RGB, f. 239, p. 13, d. 28, l. 9–10.

[41] Letter from S. Mikucki to N. Popov, 8 June 1868, OR RGB, f. 239, p. 13, d. 28, l. 1.

[42] Letter from S. Mikucki to N. Popov, 8 April 1869, OR RGB, f. 239, p. 13, d. 28, l. 9.

[43] Letter from S. Mikucki to N. Popov, 26 September 1868, OR RGB, f. 239, p. 13, d. 28, l. 7–8; letter from S. Mikucki to M. Pogodin, 6 August 1868, OR RGB, f. 231/II, k. 20, d. 120a, l. 1; letter from S. Mikucki to V. Dal', 6 November 1868, OR RGB, f. 231/II, k. 20, d. 120b, l. 2.

[44] For more on this issue, see Strycharska-Brzezina, 2006.

[45] Ibid., 38, 44–47.

[46] Confidential note from head of the civilian administration in the Kingdom of Poland, N. Miliutin, to governor general of Vil'na with Kaufman's comments, 25 January 1866, LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1865, b. 442, d. 6, l. 385–386.

[47] Letter from S. Mikucki to I. Kornilov, 24 February 1868, RGIA, f. 970, op. 1, d. 775, l. 1; letter from S. Mikucki to N. Popov, 8 June 1868, OR RGB, f. 239, p. 13, d. 28, l. 1.

[48] Confidential note from head of the civilian administration in the Kingdom of Poland, N. Miliutin, to governor general of Vil'na with Kaufman's comments, 25 January 1866, LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1865, b. 442, d. 6, l. 385–386. It is not very clear why Merkys calls these cases of the publication of a few books "an attempt to forbid further publication of Polish imprints, which had already become widely distributed": Merkys, 1994b, 66.

[49] Valuev's views were such at the end of 1862: "While carefully blocking the way for Polish and Catholicism to spread among the common masses, we cannot repress either in any higher social classes, since those elements

could not be overcome there even by force. From this point of view, it is desirable to afford necessary space for using, researching and teaching the Polish language as an unofficial language, and speak up about the chances for refounding Vilnius University": Staliūnas, 2000c, 73.

[50] On the meaning of these terms in the Russian discourse of the mid-nineteenth century, see Klier, 1995, 72–83.

[51] El'iashevich, 1999, 39, 529.

[52] Klier, 1995, 145–181, 222–262; El'iashevich, 1999; Dohrn, 1997, 379–399; Dohrn, 2001, 83–104.

[53] See, for example Staliūnas, 2006b, 33–78.

[54] Dolbilov, 2006a; Dolbilov, 2006b, 166–204.

[55] Klier, 1986a, 100–101.

[56] Klier, 1995, 162, 230.

[57] Shteinberg, 1901, 312–314. The original can be found in the file "Memuary inspektora Vilenskago evreiskago uchitel'skago instituta Shteinberga 'O deiatel'nosti M. N. Murav'eva po otnosheniiu k evreiam goroda Vil'ny'," LVIA, f. 439, ap. 1, b. 141. The participation of "learned Jews" in the preparation of these projects is mentioned in a report by Kornilov: report of the VED overseer with an account of matters of Jewish education for 1863, RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 58, l. 14.

[58] Excerpt from the minutes of the sessions of the Teachers' Council of the Vil'na Rabbinical Seminary, 3 December 1863, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 877, l. 2.

[59] Considerations and regulations concerning the compulsory instruction of Jews in Russian literacy and arithmetic and the schools designed for this purpose, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 877, l. 3–6.

[60] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the VED overseer, 12 December 1863, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 877, l. 8–9.

[61] It is possible that not all officials in the NWP supported these measures. Even VED Overseer Shirinskii-Shihmatov does not seem to have sympathised with this reform. In his report to the education minister, he emphasised that he had not been involved in the preparation of the project: report from the VED overseer to the minister of education, 14 December 1863, RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 34, l. 9. It is conceivable that the overseer merely wanted to distance himself from these steps of the governor general because they had been undertaken without previous consultation with the Ministry of Education. In the margin of the project, next to the passage in which mention is made of compulsory schooling for Jewish boys, someone, probably the new VED Overseer Kornilov, entered the comment: "Nonsense! What about

girls? What about Russian children?": marginal note, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 877, l. 3.

[62] In a draft response, written in the name of the education minister, it was pointed out that "the implementation of the measures proposed by Murav'ev would, if the state of affairs in the territories entrusted to him were different, require careful consideration in the Ministry and submission for approval to His Majesty through the Jewish Committee, as in many respects these measures depart from the existing regulations on Jewish education, approved by His Majesty": draft of note from the education minister to the governor general of Vil'na, December 1863 (no exact date), RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 34, l. 10–11. At a later time, the Ministry intended to request from the authorities of the NWP additional information about the reasons for this reform, about the way in which it would be financed, etc.: draft of note from the education minister to the governor general of Vil'na, December 1863 (no exact date), RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 34, l. 12, 13.

[63] Toward the close of December, VED Overseer Shirinskii-Shikhmatov sent a telegram to the Ministry of Education, stating the following: "It is the wish of the governor general that from 2 January onward two Jewish schools should be opened in Vil'na": telegram from the VED overseer to the education minister, 23 December 1863, RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 34, l. 14. Although, towards the close of December, the minister gave permission to open two schools, he still regarded the question as not definitively settled. He awaited the arrival of the VED overseer to the capital, but after Shirinskii-Shikhmatov's visit to St Petersburg he gave instructions "to leave things as they were for the time being": text of an undated telegram from the education minister to the VED overseer (probably sent on 24 December, 1864) with endorsements, RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 34, l. 15.

[64] Report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 6 January 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 877, l. 13; account of the activities in the domain of Jewish education in the VED for 1864, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1116, l. 270. After these two first schools in Vilnius, similar establishments were opened in other towns of the NWP.

[65] Circulars of the governor general of Vil'na, 12 and 25 January 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 877, l. 121, 122–123; a copy sent to the overseer is at LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1131, l. 1.

[66] Project of a general comment on the report about the Jewish schools in the VED for the school year 1869–1870 (this project was not sent to the Ministry of Education, because the overseer, Nikolai Sergievskii, "being

new to the office, was unable to present his evaluation with sufficient confidence"), OR RNB, f. 523, d. 114, l. 16.

[67] For more on these schools, see Stanislawski, 1983, 83–84; Klier, 1995, 222–225; Giršovičius, 1997, 253–284. Henceforth we will deal only with first degree Jewish schools. Second degree schools were closed down in the VED even before 1863.

[68] Levanda, 1874, 985–989.

[69] Note from the minister of education On Certain Measurer Concerning Jewish Education, 1 April 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 877, l. 323–324.

[70] This information is contained in the file "Otchet o sostoianii kazennykh evreiskikh uchilishch za 1863-i god," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1021.

[71] Report from the director of schools in the Grodno Gubernia to the VED overseer, 15 June 1859, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 73, l. 16–17.

[72] Golovnin, 1997, 73.

[73] "Parents should be entrusted with giving Jewish children full instruction in religious subjects": extract from the Minutes Book of the meetings of His Majesty's Rabbinical Commission within the Interior Ministry for 7, 18, 21 and 27 December 1861 and 2, 4, 8 and 10 January 1862, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 73, l. 203.

[74] This information is contained in the file "Ob uvolnenii nekotorykh uchenikov ot obucheniia Evreiskikh predmetov," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 991.

[75] Announcement, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1020, l. 6–7.

[76] File "O stroitel'stve v raznykh mestakh shkol dlia raskol'nikov," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1577.

[77] "Vil'no," *Vilenskii vestnik,* 1864, no. 13. It was also pointed out that the afternoon shift was scheduled in such a way as not to draw the pupils away from their lessons in the *cheder*. See S. G. U. [?], "Evreiskoe uchilishchnoe delo v Grodne," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1867, no. 88.

[78] Postel's, 1865, 52–53, 90; note from the minister of education On Certain Measures Concerning Jewish Education, 1 April 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 877, l. 322.

[79] Annual report for Mogilev province for 1866, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 121, b. 912, l. 54–55; note from the minister of education On Certain Measures Concerning Jewish Education, 1 April 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 877, l. 323.

[80] Report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 25 March 1864; and reply of the governor general, 2 April 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 877, l. 47–48, 49.

[81] Report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 13 October 1864, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 21, b. 54, l. 25.

[82] In the gubernias of Vitebsk and Mogilev, these reforms were to be introduced in 1866, but, as far as we could judge from the available data, the so-called Jewish subjects were not taught in the state schools of these gubernias from the autumn of 1866 onward, following instructions from the VED board. See the report of the tenured inspector of the schools of Vitebsk to the VED board, 17 February 1869, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1430, l. 32; and the report of the director of Schools of the Dinaburg Directorate to the VED overseer, 13 November 1871, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 3099, l. 16.

[83] Report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 13 October 1864, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 21, b. 54, l. 24–29; same document, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 877, l. 106–116; note from the governor general of Vil'na to the VED overseer, 7 January 1865, ibid., l. 117; note from the minister of education to the VED overseer, 17 February 1865, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 21, b. 54, l. 35; and account of the VED administration for 1865, "On the activities in the domain of Jewish education," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1208, l. 271, 298–299.

[84] Report from the VED overseer with an account of matters of Jewish education for 1863, RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 58, l. 14.

[85] Circular from the governor general of Vil'na, 25 January 1865, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1131, l. 1.

[86] "The number of Russian schools should be increased everywhere and particular attention should be given to those Jews who are prone to follow Polish tendencies; for this reason Jewish and Polish schools should not be merged, but rather the Jewish schools proper should be reformed by lending them a Russian character, as this is already being done now": Sholkovich, 1887, 320. Other local officials also noted the widespread use of Polish among the Jews; see report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 26 August 1865, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1204, l. 23–24.

[87] Report from the governor of Mogilev to the governor general of Vil'na, 16 April 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 877, l. 141.

[88] Report from Assistant of the VED Overseer, A. Serno Solov'evich, to the VED overseer, 4 December 1866, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1319, l. 13–14.

[89] Report from the inspector of the Gomel first degree Jewish state school to Assistant VED Overseer, I. Shul'gin, 20 February 1869; and account of schools administration of the Mogilev Directorate of Jewish educational establishments for 1868, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 1344, l. 14, 286.

[90] Account of schools administration of the Mogilev Directorate for 1869, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 2186, l. 26.

[91] Minutes of the meeting of the KPUE, 14 January 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 40, l. 162. Potapov, proposed an even more radical measure, that is, to introduce compulsory instruction for all Jewish children, not only boys. Proposals from the governor general of Vil'na's assistant, A. Potapov, 1865, GARF, f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 758a, l. 9.

[92] A more critical attitude to the alumni of the Rabbinical Seminary expressed, for instance, by the VED Inspector Novikov, will be discussed below.

[93] For the correspondence in this matter, see the file "Evreiskie narodnye uchilishcha, o naznachenii v onye na dolzhnosti smotritelei i uchitelei ne evreev, a lits russkago proiskhozhdeniia," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1317.

[94] Account of the VED concerning activities in the domain of Jewish education, RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 155, l. 31.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Even in 1868, the Academic Committee of the Ministry of Education recognised that, for all practical purposes, it was permissible to use the "jargon" in the initial phase of instruction of Jewish children: excerpt from minutes of the Academic Committee of the Ministry of Education, 15 April 1868, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 1482, l. 31. In V. Dal's authoritative dictionary, the word *zhargon* is defined, as "*narech'e*, *govor*, *mestnaia rech'*, *proiznoshenie*" [dialect, *patois*, local speech or pronunciation]: Dal', 1863, 469. The Lithuanian and Belarusian languages were described in exactly the same terms but, according to our data, the term "jargon" was used mainly with reference to Yiddish, and only in exceptional cases did it refer to Ukrainian or Belarusian. For more on this, see Staliūnas, 2006b, 66.

[97] Marek, 1909, 108–109.

[98] E. P-g [?], "Ob iazyke evreev, zhivshikh v drevnee vremia na Rusi," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1867, no. 134.

[99] Report of VED Inspector Novikov for the last third of 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 184, l. 34.

[100] Report of the KPUE, 6 August 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 40, l. 104.

[101] Ibid., l. 105; editor's note on K. K-sky [?], "K voprosu o evreiakh v Zapadno-russkom krae," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1866, no. 99; and A. Vol', "Russkii iazyk i evrei," ibid., 1867, no. 42.

[102] Report of the head of the district gendarmerie on the political situation in the Vil'komir district, Kovno Gubernia, 20 March 1866, GARF, f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 758, l. 6. VED Inspector Novikov reported to Katkov: "The Germans are already a serious threat among the Jews. The further they move away from the Talmud, the closer they are to the Germans, and they are quite willing to give up their jargon in favour of German rather than of Russian":

letter from N. Novikov to M. Katkov, 24 August 1865, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 500, l. 18. The same Novikov claimed that in the homes of the wealthier Jews of the Kovno Gubernia, governesses from Prussia and the Baltic Gubernias were in charge of the education of the children. See N. Novikov, Report on the Jewish educational establishments of the Kovno Directorate of Schools, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 1344, l. 205. These dangers were also highlighted in the official local newspaper, *Vilenskii vestnik* , 1867, no. 5, 25.

[103] As we know, such proposals had already been considered earlier in bureaucratic circles. In 1858, the well-known *maskil* M. Gurovich, proposed, among other things, that Yiddish should be prohibited. But in spite of the fact that the reaction of the Rabbinical Commission was rather sympathetic to this proposal, the prohibition was not introduced. The Jewish Teaching Aids Evaluation Committee pointed out that there was a Yiddish literature that could be quite useful for the enlightenment of the Jews, and the deputy education minister, Baron Andrei Nikolai, emphasised that such a prohibition would only induce the Jews to stop reading books altogether. An interesting and, in our opinion, far-sighted observation was made by the minister of education: the ban on Yiddish publications would awaken the Jews' sympathy for this language. This meant that a measure of this kind could strengthen the position of Yiddish. See the file: "Po nekotorym predpolozheniiam sostoiashchego pri Novorossiiskom i Bessarabskom General-Gubernatore Evreia Gurovicha," RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 261; Cherikover, 1913, 71; Lederhendler, 1989, 97; El'iashevich, 1999, 437–442; and Weeks, 2004, 181–182.

[104] Report from the special Vil'na censor responsible for internal censorship to the governor general of Vil'na, 23 August 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 40, l. 106.

[105] Resolution of the governor general of Vil'na on a report from the special censor of Vil'na, ibid.

[106] The KPUE also repeated some of the arguments advanced earlier in connection with Gurovich's above-mentioned proposal to prohibit the Yiddish press. There was no point in prohibiting this literature as long as the Jewish masses had not mastered the Russian language; moreover, the KPUE emphasised that this literature was "harmless" (note of the KPUE, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 40, l. 109). The KPUE repeated the same arguments later, after Baranov's appointment to the post of governor general. See Minutes of the KPUE meeting , 18 June 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 40, l. 205–206.

[107] We may assume that this second circumstance was no less important than the first. The officials were probably aware that the introduction of a formal ban on the import of Yiddish literature to the NWP would hardly have

achieved the expected results in view of the smuggling in which, according to estimates of the authorities, a considerable part of the Jewish population was involved.

108 "In this matter the Government should, especially at the present moment, when the need of establishing the dominance of the Russian element here is clearly felt, pay particular attention to this race, and, without offending their religious convictions, take care that they should, as much as possible, merge with the Russian population that predominates here, or at least, that they should not be an obstacle to the Russian cause" [emphasis added]: note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of education, 17 August 1867, RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 226, l. 1; and draft: LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 1482, l. 10–15. Such or similar hesitations were characteristic of other officials as well: Gorizontov, 2004, 260.

109 Resolution of the governor general of Vil'na on the report of the KPUE, 6 August 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 40, l. 104.

110 Editor's note on the article: K. K-skii [?], "K voprosu o evreiakh v Zapadno-russkom krae," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1866, no. 99.

111 In an official note of the minister of education in which the inexpediency of introducing restrictive measures against the use of Hebrew is pointed out (we will return to this below), next to the place where the minister states that "prohibitive measures should rather be taken against the use of the Jewish-German jargon," the governor general marked his approval with the word "yes": note from the minister of education to the governor general of Vil'na, 28 May 1868, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 1482, l. 29.

112 For the correspondence in this matter, see file "O vospreshchenii prepodavaniia evreisk.[ogo] chistopisaniia vo vsekh uchebnykh zavedeniiakh Okruga," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1266; Dolbilov, 2006a.

113 Report from the director of the Vil'na Rabbinical Seminary to the VED overseer, 8 October 1866, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1266, l. 1.

114 El'iashevich, 1999, 444. True, the editor was not granted permission to extend the scope of his activities. The Council of the Main Department for Press Affairs permitted him "to make only a few insignificant additions, of a religious and practical character, which will not turn these periodicals into general literary and political newspapers": minutes of the meeting of the Council of the Main Department for Press Affairs, 3 December 1868, RGIA, f. 776, op. 2, d. 5, l. 590–592.

115 Report of the KPUE to the governor general of Vil'na, 6 August 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 1482, l. 2–7; note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of education, 17 August 1867, RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 226, l. 1–4.

[116] The minister of education did not venture to take a decision in this matter because the ORPMER had been established with the permission of the Interior Ministry, and the Main Department for Press Affairs was also subordinate to this ministry: note from the minister of education to the governor general of Vil'na, 6 September 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 1482, l. 23.

[117] Note from the interior minister to the education minister, 20 October 1867, RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 226, l. 7–9.

[118] This committee invoked, among other things, the experience of other European countries. It pointed out that such a prohibition would be construed by the Jews as "persecution of their faith" and that it was possible to disseminate Enlightenment in Hebrew as well, especially among the adult Jews: note from the education minister to the governor general of Vil'na, 28 May 1868, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 1482, l. 27–29. The answer that came from St Petersburg aroused the indignation of the local officials. The assistant of the governor general of Vil'na, Petr Bagration, made so bold as to send a note to the capital in which he expressed his dissent and went so far as to call the ORPMER's activities "reactionary": note from the assistant of the governor general of Vil'na, Bagration, to the minister of education, 29 August 1868, RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 226, l. 35–38.

[119] Extract from the Minute Book of the Academic Committee of the Ministry of Education, 15 April 1868, RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 226, l. 20.

[120] Annual account of the Directorate of the Vil'na Rabbinical Seminary for 1865, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1208, l. 14.

[121] *Istoricheskie svedeniia,* 1873, 36–40. Still, the curriculum sanctioned by the Ministry of Education, according to which these subjects were to be taught in German or in Yiddish, had not been modified.

[122] This problem has already been discussed by scholars: El'iashevich, 1999, 314–317.

[123] Ibid., 227–228.

[124] Address on the occasion of the conferment of certain civil right on the Jews, given by Rabbi O. Shteinberg in the Great Synagogue of Vilnius, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1857, b. 856a, l. 50–52. Sermons in Russian were held in the synagogue in later times as well: "Prazdnovanie 19 fevralia," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1864, no. 24.

[125] For correspondence in connection with the Russian translation of the Psalms, see the file "Po predstavleniiu Vilenskago Popechitelia o vvedenii v evreiskikh uchilishchakh polozhennykh uchitelem peniia Natansonom na noty trekh psal'mov Davida, po russkomu perevodu,"

RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 208. *Russian as the "synagogal" language of the Jews* – O. Gurvich, "Zametki evreiskago pedagoga," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1864, no. 7.

[126] For the correspondence in connection with this proposal by Gurvich, see the files: "O dozvolenii zashtatnomu uchiteliu Minskago kazennago Evreiskago uchilishcha 2-go razriada Gurvichu perevesti i izdat' na russkom iazyke Evreiskii molitvennik," LVIA, f. 1240, ap. 1, b. 186; and "Po otnosheniiu Upravliaiushchego Ministerstvom narodnago prosveshcheniia o dozvolenii zashtatnomu uchiteliu Minskago kazennago Evreiskago uchilishcha perevesti i izdat' na Russkom iazyke Evreiskii molitvennik," RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 263.

[127] Katkov, 1897 (1865), 293. Some later formulations in official documents are quite reminiscent of the argumentation used in *Moskovskie vedomosti*. See, for example, an excerpt from the minutes of the Academic Committee of the Ministry of Education meeting, 15 April 1868, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 1482, l. 33–34.

[128] Lest such a "merger" occur between the Poles and the Jews, the authorities forbade Polish sermons in the synagogues of the Kingdom of Poland: Weeks, 1998, 10.

[129] Note from S. Finn, 1867, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1384, l. 2–5. He sent this project to the VED overseer on 8 September 1867, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1384, l. 1.

[130] Note from VED chancery to S. Fin, 19 October 1867, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1384, l. 6.

[131] For the attitude of *Birzhevye vedomosti,* see "Sanktpeterburg, 18-go marta," *Birzhevye vedomosti*, 1866, no. 61.

[132] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 17 March 1876, RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 254, l. 174–175.

[133] Excerpt from the minutes of the meeting of the Jewish Teaching Aids Evaluation Committee, 14 March 1869, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 669, l. 8–9.

[134] Note from the head of the Main Department for Press Affairs to the director of the DDDII, 11 January 1869, RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 268, l. 20.

[135] Note from the deputy interior minister to the education minister, 30 November 1862, RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, b. 263, l. 6; and note from the minister of education to the chairman of the Vil'na Censorship Committee, 12 December 1862, LVIA, f. 1240, ap. 1, b. 186, l. 4.

[136] For example, Iosif drew attention to the occurrence in some prayers of the invocation of God as "our only Lord (Tsar); we have no other Lord but Thee": report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 17 August 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 1482, l. 18.

[137] Minutes of the KPUE meetings, 30 July 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 877, l. 216–221.

[138] Note from the director of the DDDII to the Main Department for Press Affairs, 12 June 1868, RGIA, f. 776, ap. 3, d. 682, l. 14–16. Same document, RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 272, l. 11–13.

[139] Copy of letter from A. Gezen to M. Katkov, 21 July 1866, OR RGB, f. 120, p. 20, l. 71.

[140] Copy of note from the Committee for Censorship on Religious Books of the Department for the Affairs of the Orthodox Church to the Committee of External Censorship, 22 June 1862, RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 274, l. 7.

[141] Minutes of the meetings of the Council of the Main Department for Press Affairs, 11 July and 15 November 1868, RGIA, f. 776, op. 2, d. 5, l. 346–347, 569. The Interior Ministry also started collecting statistical data about the numbers of Sabbatarians in the Empire. Their total proved to be a mere 3,616: note from the Department of General Affairs of the Interior Ministry to the head of the Main Department for Press Affairs, 9 October 1868, RGIA, f. 776, op. 3, d. 682, l. 21.

[142] Excerpt from the minutes of the Academic Committee of the Ministry of Education, 15 April 1868, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 1482, l. 33.

[143] For the correspondence on this matter, see the file "Po pros'be kandidata S. Peterburgskago Universiteta L'va Mandel'shtama: o rasprostranenii mezhdu Evreiami novago ego perevoda Vetkhago Zaveta," RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 274.

[144] Cherikover, 1913, 97.

[145] Minutes of the KPUE meeting, 30 July 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 40, l. 221.

[146] The above-mentioned Gezen told Katkov that Raevskii was "opposed to a separate Russian translation [of the Bible] for the Jews because this would slow down the conversion of the Jews to Christianity": copy of letter of A. Gezen to M. Katkov, 13 March 1868, OR RGB, f. 120, p. 20, l. 92. Let us recall that Brafman had previously advocated other ways of achieving a "merger." As early as the 1850s, he had suggested launching missionary actions among the Jews through the medium of Yiddish (see the file, "Po vsepoddanneishei pros'be kreshchennago iz Evreev Iakova Brafmana: ob uchrezhdenii missionernago obshchestva dlia obrashcheniia byvshikh ego edinovertsev v Khristianstvo," RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 184; Klier, 1995, 264; Klier, 2001, 104–105.

[147] Report from the Minsk director of schools to the VED overseer, 28 September 1864, note of the state-appointed Rabbi of Minsk to the director of the Minsk Grammar School, 22 September 1864; petition of the Minsk

Jewish Society of Merchants and Townspeople to the Director of the Minsk Grammar School, September 1864; report from the Ponevezh director of schools to the VED overseer, 4 February 1864, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 3, b. 1216, l. 5–8, 19–21; excerpt from the report of the Grodno Girls' Grammar School to the governor general of Vil'na, 18 July 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1868, b. 1823, l. 6; and report from the Shavli director of schools to the VED overseer, 21 September 1871, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 2555, l. 1–2.

148 Note from the Ministry of Education concerning the appointment of teachers of Jewish persuasion in the grammar schools and district schools, 13 January 1862, RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 626, l. 6.

149 For correspondence on this matter, see the file "O vvedenii prepodavaniia Evreiskago zakona very v Zhitomirskoi, Kamenets-Podol'skoi i drugikh gimnaziiakh," RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 47.

150 This information is contained in the file "O pravilakh i rukovodstvakh dlia prepodavaniia Zakona Bozhiia iudeiskago veroispovedaniia," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 3, b. 1216. The quotation is from report of the Kovno director of schools to the VED overseer, 9 November 1863, l. 3.

151 In certain cases, it was explicitly stated that this subject should be taught "exclusively in Russian": report of the Kovno director of schools to the VED overseer, 6 November 1868, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 196, l. 5.

152 Report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 15 February 1871, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1868, b. 1823, l. 18. From 1867 onward, religious instruction of Jewish pupils was also discontinued in the Kiev Education District (for correspondence on this matter, see the file "Po prosheniiam raznykh evreiskikh obshchestv po sluchaiu prekrashcheniia v gimnaziakh prepodavaniia evreiskago zakona," RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 220). The official position was that religious instruction was discontinued due to the small number of Jewish pupils and the insufficiency of financial means (note from the Kiev Education District overseer to the VED overseer, 6 October 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 1496, l. 2; note from the minister of education to the deputy administrator-general of the Fourth Department of His Imperial Majesty's Personal Chancery, July 1871 (no exact date), RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 411, l. 2). In the early 1870s, the teaching of this subject in Russian in the general or, as they were often called, "Christian" educational establishments was maintained only in the Odessa Education District. This information is contained in the file "O vvedenii prepodavaniia Zakona Bozhiia Evreiskoi very na russkom iazyke v Kovenskoi zhenskoi gimnazii," RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 411.

153 Report from the overseer of the St Petersburg Education District to the administrator of the Ministry of Education, 9 January 1881, RGIA, f. 733,

op. 189, d. 626, l. 1. According to our data, the situation was different in the girls' grammar schools, which were subordinate to the Empress Maria Department; in these schools, Jewish religious instruction in the Russian language was introduced in the early 1870s. It should be borne in mind, however, that the authorities paid less attention to the education of Jewish women. On the introduction of Jewish religious instruction in the VED girls' grammar schools, see the files "O prepodavanii zakona Bozhiia evreiskago ispovedaniia v Kovenskoi zhenskoi gimnazii," LVIA, 378, bs, 1870, b. 855; "O prepodavanii zakona Bozhiia evreiskago ispovedaniia v Vilenskoi i Minskoi zhenskikh Gimnaziiakh," LVIA, 378, bs, 1870, b. 884.

[154] But the minister of education did not support this proposal, first and foremost because the Jews did not trust general schools and were afraid for their religious convictions; secondly, "if too significant a number of the Jewish masses suddenly attended general schools, Christians would probably cease sending their children to them." This information is contained in the file "Po zapiske generalgubernatora zapadnykh gubernii V. I. Nazimova o bedstvennom polozhenii evreev v etikh guberniakh i o neobkhodimosti vneseniia izmenenii v zakonodatel'stvo ob evreev," RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 64, quotation – l. 20.

[155] 1864 Account of The Administration of Educational Establishments in the Mogilev Schools' Directorate, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1116, l. 171.

[156] Note from the minister of education On Certain Measures Concerning Jewish Education, 1 April 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 877, l. 323.

[157] Bessonov, who had worked until 1865 as secretary of the Moscow Synod Press, only became director of the Vilnius Rabbinical Seminary because VED Overseer Kornilov invited him to take up the post of chairman of the Vilnius Palaeographical Commission and was unable to provide a sufficient salary. Therefore Bessonov was offered another job in Vilnius: note from I. Kornilov to I. Delianov, 10 August 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1688, l. 178; letters from A. Bessonov to V. Cherkaskii, 19 June and 20 August 1864, OR RGB, f. 327/II, p. 5, d. 30, l. 13–14, 15–16.

[158] Kornilov's resolution placed on correspondence with the education minister, 18 March 1865, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1204, l. 1.

[159] In this letter Bukh discussed the problem of "whether given Jewish ethnic, religious, social and domestic differences, they should be granted full rights to attend general educational establishments, or whether some sort of boundary should be created between Jews and people of all other faiths." Referring to his experience in the Orenburg Province, where there

were "mixed Russian and Tatar rural district schools," Bukh suggested not maintaining separate Jewish schools because they maintain "Jewish outlooks," or in other words, their alien nature: letter from K. Bukh to K. Kaufman, 28 May 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1739, l. 8–9.

160 Bessonov presented his deliberations to Kornilov on 8 August 1865: LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1204, l. 13. Copy of this note from Bessonov: LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1204, l. 14–21; note with Bessonov's signature: LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1739, l. 23–33. Here we will refer to a note in the first of the aforementioned files.

161 See note no. 89 from Chapter One.

162 "It must not be forgotten that Jews differ from Russians in every possible way, by ethnic origin, language, customs (to the last trifle of food and clothing), social organisation and standing, and their long history; and above all by concentrating on these specifics, they differ deeply in religion and have almost nothing in common, not even any ressemblances, with other *inorodtsy* in Russia." "If separatism is fatal for the state then indifference poses no less of a threat of destroying the life of society and seeking this means almost the same as wishing for the same climate, soil and nature everywhere": LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1204, l. 15–16.

163 Ibid., l. 17, 19.

164 Ibid., l. 18.

165 Ibid., l. 14.

166 "However many Jews have attended or will attend Russian grammar schools and universities, they have not, nor will have any influence over the Jewish masses; they have not come one jot closer to the Russians, and the Russians have not drawn closer to them": ibid., l. 21.

167 Ibid., l. 20.

168 Ibid., l. 21.

169 Here to some extent we differ from the opinion of Dolbilov, who stressed the similarities between the views of Bessonov and Kornilov: Dolbilov, 2006a.

170 Draft of note from the governor general of Vil'na to the education minister, April 1865 (no exact date), LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1739, l. 3–5.

171 Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the education minister, 15 April 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1739, l. 6–7; Collected Opinions of the governors general and heads of education districts concerning the future existence of state Jewish schools, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 877, l. 352–353.

172 Report from the VED overseer to the minister of education, 26 August 1865, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1204, l. 23–26; Collected Opinions of the governors

general and heads of education districts concerning the future existence of state Jewish schools, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 877, l. 354–355.

[173] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of education, 3 October 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1739, l. 38–39; Collected Opinions of the governors general and heads of education districts concerning the future existence of state Jewish schools, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 877, l. 353–354.

[174] Report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 11 November 1867, Kornilov, 1908, 296.

[175] It turned out that as supporters of the closure of separate Jewish schools, such as Novikov, for example, developed some kind of other concept, they "forgot" about this "fact," claiming that "as most [Jewish] children enter school they do not speak or even understand Russian": 1868 Account of Jewish Educational Establishments in the Kovno Directorate of Schools, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 1344, l. 203.

[176] Note from the minister of education On Certain Measures Concerning Jewish Education, 1 April 1866, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 877, l. 341. These proposals remained on paper only and the reason for this was most probably the appointment of Tolstoi to replace Golovnin as minister of education: Cherikover, 1913, 172.

[177] The general comments of the overseer on the directors' accounts of the state of education in the VED in 1868, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 1149, l. 69–70; Account of Jewish Educational Establishments in the Kovno Schools' Directorate for 1869, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 2186, l. 141–143.

[178] For example, in 1868 343 Jewish boys and one Jewish girl studied in 24 parish schools in the Kovno Gubernia out of a total of 864 schoolchildren: The general comments of the overseer on the directors' accounts of the state of education in the VED in 1868, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 1149, l. 68–69. At the same time the VED administration recognised that in 1868 in state Jewish schools, with the exception of girls' literacy schools, the number of pupils fell: Conclusion of the Overseer from the 1868 Account of Jewish Schools, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 1344, l. 370.

[179] Report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 11 November 1867, Kornilov, 1908, 295–297.

[180] Brafman had been "lobbying" Kornilov as far back as the second half of 1864: report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 12 October 1864, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1108, l. 8–9. This document has been published but with an incorrect date: Kornilov, 1908, 250–251.

[181] Initially, Kornilov even pointed to individual examples, "for instance, Levanda and the likes of him show no inclination towards either embracing

Christianity or becoming Russified" (this passage was crossed out in the text). General remarks by I. Kornilov, Overseer of the VED, were added as a supplement to his Account of Jewish Educational Matters in 1867, RGIA, f. 970, op. 1, d. 447, l. 41. Novikov was also skeptical about the usefulness of the alumni of the Rabbinical Seminary in the cause of Jewish education: "to what extent they have themselves become free from similar characteristics of Talmudism remains a matter of speculation": Kovno Directorate of Schools Account of the Jewish educational establishments, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 1344, l. 210.

182 "Mr. Brafman is indeed a very useful person, and, as far as I can judge from the Jews I knew, unique and irreplaceable": copy of letter from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 30 September 1866, RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 192, l. 1. According to our data, only one teacher of the Vil'na Rabbinical Seminary, Moshe Gurvich (Nikolai Gureev after his conversion), and two pupils converted to Orthodoxy (This information is contained in the files "O kreshchenii uchitelia Moiseia Gurvicha," LVIA, f. 577, ap. 1, b. 25; and "O priniatii uchenikami Vilenskago ravvinskago uchilishcha Natkinym i Senderovichem Sv.[eshchennogo] Kreshcheniia po obriadu pravoslavnoi tserkvi," LVIA, f. 577, ap. 1, b. 46.

183 N. Novikov, Report on the Jewish educational establishments of the Kovno Directorate of Schools, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 1344, l. 203–216.

184 In the VED overseer's account for 1868 the lack of faith in graduates of the Vilnius rabbinical Seminary was formulated even more clearly: "grammar schools and rabbinical seminaries, while weakening the devotion of their Jewish pupils to the rites of the Jewish religion and customs, are failing to root out, especially among pupils of the rabbinical seminary the spirit of Jewishness, not as a religion, but as a special corporation, which is so strong in the internal construction of Jewish communities and which maintains their pernicious exclusivity": Conclusion of the Overseer from the 1868 Account of Jewish Schools, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 1344, l. 374.

185 "Finally, an individual and complete Russification of the Jews, to the point of their embracing Orthodoxy, is possible. The question of rights need not be posed here, as these will be conferred automatically; but a question that should be posed in the most firm and forceful way is whether this conversion is sincere and disinterested": M. Koialovich, "*Moskovskie vedomosti* i Zapadnaia Rossiia (Russkoe latinstvo, russkoe zhidovstvo)," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1866, no. 150.

186 Klier characterizes the diffidence of Russian society with regard to Jewish converts to Orthodoxy as "fear for contemporary Marranos": Klier, 2001, 94.

[187] Report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 12 October 1864, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1108, l. 8–9.

[188] Report from VED Administrator, I. Shul'gin to the deputy education minister, 29 November 1869, RGIA, f. 733, op. 189, d. 192, l. 10.

[189] Minutes of the meeting of the KPUE, 8 August 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1869, b. 40, l. 222–225a.

[190] The policies aiming to Russify the educated minority primarily, were also criticised by the above-mentioned Koialovich: OR RNB, f. 531, d. 847, l. 1–2. Some Jews accused the Director of the Vil'na Rabbinical Seminary, Sobchakov, of putting obstacles in the way of alumni of this school who wished to go to university: Dohrn, 1997, 396. See also the file "O donose na Direktora Vilenskago ravvinskago uchilishcha Kollezhskago Sovetnika Sobchakova," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1321.

[191] Conclusion of the VED overseer's account of the situation of the Jewish schools in 1866–1867, RGIA, f. 970, op. 1, d. 456, l. 16.

[192] "In order to solve the Jewish question, only one thing is left for us to do: to strive indefatigably and seriously to raise the level of education among the Russians proper": report from Assistant of the VED Overseer, A. Serno-Solov'evich, to the VED overseer, 4 December 1866, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1319, l. 13–14. Similar thoughts can be found in Kornilov's reports: "in disseminating education among the Jews, one should also, and to an even greater extent, disseminate education among the Russians. We must endow the Russian element with sufficient strength to enable it to compete successfully with the Jewish element, subordinate it to itself and partly assimilate it by the natural law of moral superiority. In this respect, as we will see, the Russians in the Western provinces lag behind the Poles and even the Jews. It is therefore imperative that we remove everything that contributes to the exclusive development of the Jewish element and lends it an artificial advantage over the development of the common Russian people": General remarks of the VED overseer that were added as a supplement to his Account of Jewish educational matters in 1867, RGIA, f. 970, op. 1, d. 447, l. 41–42.

[193] Here, Kornilov was, of course, referring to the number of Jews in the Pale of Jewish Settlement: Conclusion of the VED overseer's account of the situation of Jewish schools in 1866–1867, RGIA, f. 970, op. 1, d. 456, l. 14.

[194] "The best Russian people should voluntarily move to these parts to serve the great and arduous Russian cause. This is indispensable for our moral victory over Polonism, Latinity, Jewry and Germanhood; it is indispensable in order that on our western frontier, the Russian nationality should hold out and gather vigor in the Russian State; it is indispensable in order that the Russian lands should not be parceled out and should not

become similar to Austria or Turkey": letter from VED Overseer I. Kornilov to Deputy Education Minister, I. Delianov, 17 August 1867, Kornilov, 1908, 281–282. Similar thoughts were formulated by Kornilov in a letter to Katkov: "this land needs a great number of people to occupy higher and lower administrative and educational posts. They cannot be recruited among the Poles: these should rather be held aloof, as they are dangerous and unreliable people; it is precisely against this local population that the government is campaigning; they cannot be recruited among the Jews either, as the Russian element should be strengthened, and one cannot strengthen it with Jews: copy of undated letter of I. Kornilov to M. Katkov, OR RGB, f. 120, p. 21, l. 143.

195 Note from the education minister to the VED overseer, 30 November 1867, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 1411, l. 1–2.

196 Cherikover, 1913, 194–195. In our opinion, historians have not explained the aims of Tolstoi clearly enough. Klier suggested that, when reforming the system of separate Jewish schools, the education minister did not wish the number of Jews in general grammar schools to increase: Klier, 1995, 238. Nathans has shown that in the mid-1870s Tolstoi favoured attracting Jews to general schools and only at the end of the 1880s did he support the introduction of percentage restrictions: Nathans, 2002, 260, 264. Dolbilov criticised Klier, claiming that the minister "selected a course of integration," that is, he favoured attracting Jews to general schools: Dolbilov, 2006a. As far as we can tell from available sources, Tolstoi's rhetoric at the turn of the 1860s and 1870s really was integrationalist, but then it is difficult to explain why at the time Jewish religious instruction was not introduced into grammar schools.

197 A formulation used in the title of an article by Klier: Klier, 1986a, 96–110.

198 Tyla, 1967, 171–174; Tyla, 1973; Tyla, 1991; Tyla, 2004, 15–24; Vėbra, 1976, 34–50; Vėbra, 1996; Merkys, 1978; Merkys, 1994a; Merkys, 1994b; Merkys, 2004a, 3–7; Łossowski, 2003, 66.

199 Vėbra, 1996.

200 Weeks, 2001b, 68–84; Miller, 2004c, 22; Dolbilov, Miller, 2006, 249.

201 Miller, 2006b, 67, 89, 92.

202 Dolbilov, 2004b, 111–137; Dolbilov, 2005, 255–296.

203 Merkys, 2005, 11.

204 Dolbilov, 2001, 254.

205 Merkys, 1994b, 49–50. In his most recent work Merkys retracts from such a categorical view: Merkys, 1999, 707; Merkys, 2004c, 6–8.

206 Vėbra, 1996, 14; Dolbilov, 2004c, 266–267. Later, on 30 January 1866, as we know, this prohibition was confirmed further by an oral command from Alexander II after the Russian Academy of Sciences published in the Latin

alphabet the work of Kristijonas Donelaitis, who lived in Eastern Prussia in the eighteenth century.

[207] Matusas, 1937, 69–76; Karčiauskienė, 1989, 61–67; Merkys, 1999, 662–670, 676–683; Kulakauskas, 1999, 211–216; Kulakauskas, 2000; Staliūnas, 2003a, 275–277.

[208] See also earlier articles on this topic – Staliūnas, 2004a, 273–289; Staliūnas, 2004d, 63–88; Staliūnas, 2004b, 79–109; Staliūnas, 2005i, 187–192; Staliūnas, 2005c, 225–254; Staliūnas, 2005d, 93–116; Staliūnas, 2006c, 71–77.

[209] VED Report for 1861, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 111, l. 5.

[210] Note from VED Inspector V. Kulin, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 1615, l. 15; report from Assistant VED Overseer I. Shul'gin to the VED overseer, 11 June 1864, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 4, b. 954, l. 6; report from VED Inspector for Kovno Gubernia N. Novikov to the VED overseer, 21 December 1866, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1608, l. 3.

[211] Proposals from the governor general of Vil'na assistant, A. Potapov, 1865, GARF, f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 758a, l. 9.

[212] Report from the VED overseer to the education minister, 14 April 1862, Kornilov, 1908, 22.

[213] On ban to use the Latin alphabet for Ukrainian or Belarusian texts, see the next section.

[214] Admittedly Vėbra's view that this idea was expressed by Hil'ferding in a letter to N. Miliutin in 1860 (Vėbra, 1996, 13) is based on an inaccurate reading of the source, since Genrij Vissendorf mentioned such a letter as existing in the 1860s ("v 60–kh godakh"), not 1860: undated letter from G. Vissendorf to the Special Department of the Academic Committee of the Education Ministry, AGO, f. 53, op. 1, d. 106, l. 1.

[215] 1864 Account of the Administration of Educational Establishments in the Kovno Schools' Directorate, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 3, b. 1295, l. 422.

[216] Kornilov, 1908, 118.

[217] I. Kornilov, Memoirs from 1864–1868, OR RNB, f. 377, d. 318, l. 25.

[218] B. Kulin, Review of the publication by Hil'ferding "Certain Comments on the Lithuanian and Žemaitijan Ethnicity" [Neskol'ko zamechanii o litovskom i zhmudskom plemeni], OR RNB, f. 377, d. 1397.

[219] Letter from N. Miliutin to M. Murav'ev, 31 March (12 April) 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1775, l. 38–39.

[220] Letter from N. Miliutin to M. Murav'ev, 15 (27) April 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1775, l. 41.

[221] Merkys, 1994b, 30–49.

[222] Letter from I. Kornilov to J. Sproģis, 23 January 1901, VUB RS, f. 6, b. 67, l. 21–22. The same document: Kornilov, 1908, 458–460.

[223] Extract from the report of Governor General of Vil'na Murav'ev to the tsar, 5 April, 1865, Tyla, 1973, 69.

[224] Vėbra, 1996, 14.

[225] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the governor of Kovno, 5 February 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 1360, l. 61.

[226] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 14 March 1868, RGIA, f. 821, op. 125, d. 363, l. 11–12.

[227] Report from VED Inspector for Kovno Gubernia N. Novikov to the VED overseer, 7 July 1865, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1507, l. 6.

[228] Note from M. Valančius to the governor general of Vil'na, 11 March 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1867, b. 1332, l. 4.

[229] Note from the head of the governor general's office to the governor of Kovno, 4 May 1867, Lietuvos mokslų akademijos bibliotekos Rankraščių skyrius [Manuscript division of the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius], f. 163, b. 177, l. 2.

[230] Report from Chairman of the Vil'na Censorship Committee, P. Kukolnik to the Commission to study the Polish and Žemaitijan books which were being sold in Vilnius, 18 September 1865, LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1865, b. 442, d. 2, l. 44.

[231] Minutes of the Commission to study the Polish and Žemaitijan books which were being sold in Vilnius, 5 March 1866, LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1865, b. 442, d. 1, l. 383; the same document: LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1865, b. 442 d. 2, l. 60–61; LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1865, b. 442 d. 6, l. 228; report from the Commission to study the Polish and Žemaitijan books which were being sold in Vilnius to the governor general of Vil'na, 6 March 1866, LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1865, b. 442 d. 2, l. 64–65; the same document: LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1865, b. 442 d. 6, l. 401–402.

[232] Note from the Commission to study the Polish and Žemaitijan books which were being sold in Vilnius to the Vil'na Censorship Committee, 7 March 1866; report from the Censor A. Mukhin to the Commission to study the Polish and Žemaitijan books which were being sold in Vilnius, 8 March 1866, LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1865, b. 442 d. 2. l. 62, 63. It had been stated in Mukhin's report that the first Lithuanian primers in Russian characters had been approved by the censors on 22 May 1864, while on 5 June the future publication of primers in alphabets other than Cyrillic was banned.

[233] Note from the VED overseer, 10 August 1865, LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1865, b. 442, d. 6, l. 326.

[234] Letter from N. Novikov to M. Katkov, 24 August 1864, OR RNB, f. 23, d. 500, l. 12.

[235] Copy of report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 6 September 1865, Tyla, 1973, 71.

[236] Draft of note from the governor general of Vil'na to the Vil'na Censorship Committee, 5 June 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1775, l. 48; Dolbilov, 2004b, 114.

[237] Merkys, 1994b, 50.

[238] For the correspondence on this matter, see the file "O tsenzure i predmetam otnosiashchimsia do Vilenskago Tsenzurnago Komiteta," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 222; Merkys, 1994b, 47–49.

[239] Medišauskienė, 1998, 219–220.

[240] Admittedly, some of these were bilingual editions in Polish and Lithuanian, and also the same books were published by different presses and so the number of titles was smaller: LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 215, l. 12–17, 29–34, 61–70, 113–116, 160–165, 193–200, 248–251, 275–281, 313–318, 342–347a, 374–380; LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 222, l. 2–7.

[241] Letter from N. Novikov to M. Katkov, 24 August 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 500, l. 14.

[242] Hil'ferding, 1885, 123; the same views are to be found in other publications: Hil'ferding, 1868, 330.

[243] Hil'ferding, 1885, 113.

[244] See Chapter Two.

[245] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the interior minister, 6 September 1865, Tyla, 1973, 72.

[246] Circular from the interior minister, 23 September 1865, Tyla, 1973, 83.

[247] We will recall that the creation of a standardised Lithuanian language is usually connected with the appearance of the *Aušra* [Dawn] newspaper in 1883–1886.

[248] Note from A. Petkevičius, 20 October 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 629a, l. 262–263.

[249] Letter from S. Mikucki to Mikhail Iakovlevich (?), 23 December 1868, RGIA, f. 797, op. 39, d. 5, l. 7–8.

[250] Note from the Lithuanian Orthodox Archbishop Makarii to the over-procurator of the Holy Synod, 7 February 1869, RGIA, f. 797, op. 39, d. 5, l. 19–20.

[251] Note from S. Mikucki, 14 February 1868, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 3, b. 1882, l. 33.

[252] Lazda, 1985, 130.

[253] Geraci, 2001, 58.

[254] Maciūnas, 1936, 517–528.

[255] Mockus, 2003, 68.

[256] Jonikas, 1972, 194–196.

257 Letter from A. Urbanavičius to I. Kornilov, 27 December 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 61, l. 1–2; letter from A. Urbanavičius to I. Kornilov, 17 January 1865, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 4, b. 954, l. 54–55.

258 Subačius, 2004, 139–173.

259 Report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 23 April 1864, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 4, b. 954, l. 2.

260 Most humble report from N. Miliutin to the tsar, 21 August 1864, RGIA, f. 1162, op. 7, d. 234, l. 61; Lapteva, 1979, 121–125.

261 Unfortunately we have not had access to the relevant minutes of the Foundation Committee because the Central Archive Of Ancient Acts [*Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych*; henceforth – AGAD] in Warsaw considers the condition of the manuscript to be too delicate for it to be used by researchers.

262 Minutes of the Foundation Committee, 13 (25) August 1866, AGAD, Komitet Urządzający, no. 17, l. 221.

263 Minutes of the Committee for the Affairs of the Kingdom of Poland, 16 July 1866, RGIA, f. 1270, op. 1, d. 1424, l. 556.

264 Minutes of the Foundation Committee, 13 (25) August 1866, AGAD, Komitet Urządzający, no. 17, l. 228, 231–232, 237–240; *Dziennik Praw*, 1866, vol. 65, 388–393.

265 Some contemporaries and historians claim that the idea for these scholarships was proposed to the Foundation Committee by Žilinskas after conversation with Mikucki: Žilinskas, 1919 and 1920, 487; Grinius, 1947, 60; Kudirka, 1996, 4). Although what Žilinskas says in his memoirs contains a considerable number of imprecise claims, we cannot rule these out entirely. AGO holds Mikucki's undated text, which says "we must establish at the expense of the Kingdom of Poland, several Russian-Lithuanian scholarships (for example, ten worth 400 silver rubles) at the Imperial University of St Petersburg in the Faculty of History and Philology. These scholarships should be awarded to young Lithuanian peasants, who speak Lithuanian in practice. The main requirement made of the Lithuanian scholars is a firm, basic knowledge of Russian, academic achievement and working knowledge of the Lithuanian language": AGO, f. 54, op. 1, d. 20 (leaves unnumbered). These deliberations are very reminiscent of the Foundation Committee's resolution concerning the scholarships. This text in effect confirms the claim made earlier that the creation of these scholarships should be linked with Hil'ferding. We have noted previously that these awards fitted Hil'ferding's principles regarding Lithuanian policy. Meanwhile this text from Mikucki appeals to the opinion "of first-rate Russian academics" which suggested "founding chairs of Lithuanian in Russian universities and introducing the

teaching of Lithuanian in secondary schools in areas inhabited by Lithuanians." There can be no doubt that Hil'ferding is being referred to here.

[266] Letter from S. Mikucki to J. Sproģis, 11 April 1868, VUB RS, f. 6, b. 78, l. 20–21.

[267] Many holders of these scholarships later became prominent figures within the Lithuanian National Movement: one of the publishers of *Aušra*, organiser of the Great Seimas of Vilnius (1905) and chief ideologist of Lithuanian nationalism, Jonas Basanavičius; the man who has been attributed with the greatest contribution to standardising the Lithuanian language, Jonas Jablonskis; the writer, Vincas Pietaris; one of the first modern Lithuanian jurists, Petras Leonas, and so on. These scholarships in conjunction with other factors (the difference in policies pursued in the NWP and the Kingdom of Poland, better agricultural conditions, and so forth) contributed to the fact that this part of Lithuania (Suvalkija) replaced Žemaitija in the second half of the nineteenth century as the centre of the Lithuanian National Movement.

[268] Lukšienė came to this conclusion after studying the state of schools in the Vil'na and Kovno gubernias: Lukšienė, 1970, 359–360. Meanwhile the Polish historian Zasztowt, who has studied the education system throughout the Western Province, claims that most teachers in such schools were Poles: Zasztowt, 1997, 348.

[269] Kulakauskas, 2000, 46–47.

[270] Lukšienė, 1970, 208–222, 227–232, 245–247, 249–260, 352–362.

[271] Ibid., 235–243, 245–247, 258–260; Merkys, 1999, 287–299.

[272] Excerpt from the minutes of the Education Ministry Academic Committee, 29 October 1863, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 3, b. 1174, l. 8–15. It was for this reason that the first teacher training college in the VED was founded in Molodechno: "here in Orthodox surroundings, far from the temptations typical of big towns, where local life is simple, trainees may take up study without any outside distractions": general remarks on the 1867 reports of the headmasters of VED people's schools, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 391, l. 200.

[273] Admittedly, the governor general of Vil'na stressed that "after this the trainees could themselves train a sufficient number of assistants in their people's schools from among peasant children, whom they taught": note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of education, 1 February 1863, RGIA, f. 733, op. 62, d. 1483, l. 43–56. Here it remains unclear, whether the local peasant assistants were to remain assistants or whether they might later work as teachers.

[274] Copy of note from the VED overseer, 14 February 1863, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 629, l. 179.

[275] Draft of report from the VED overseer to the minister of education, 20 April 1863, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 21, b. 55, l. 60–65.

[276] For the correspondence on this matter, see the file "Ob otkrytii Molodechenskoi uchitel'skoi seminarii (imeetsia 'Polozhenie o Molodechenskoi uchitel'skoi seminarii')," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 21, b. 55. Alexander II confirmed the statutes of the Molodechno Teachers' College on 25 June 1865: LVIA, f. 567, ap. 21, b. 55, l. 140–145. VED Overseer Kornilov attempted to talk Governor General Kaufman into transferring the Institute from Molodechno to Sokolka, near Vilnius. Kornilov thought that Molodechno had the following shortcomings: trade was underdeveloped, and so there would be shortages of certain goods in the town; because of the number of marshes in the area the climate was not conducive to good health; most importantly, half of the townsfolk were Jewish, while the peasantry had become Polonised: report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 24 October 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 873, l. 132–133. Kulin put forward another proposal for training teachers for schools attended by Lithuanians. He proposed that "Žemaitijan" be taught at the Kovno Grammar School to train Russian teachers because "the people's schools need teachers, who can speak Žemaitijan so that Žemaitijan primary education can be Žemaitijan and Russian rather than Žemaitijan and Polish, as it has been hitherto": report from the VED inspector to the VED overseer, 8 November 1863, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 171, l. 1. The fact that in autumn 1863 the local authorities in the NWP acknowledged that teachers must also learn Lithuanian is illustrated by a plan for establishing a university in Vilnius, where there was supposed to be a Lithuanian Department within the Faculty of History and Philology to train "Russian staff for civil and educational establishments in those areas, where ordinary Lithuanians dwell": Staliūnas, 2000c, 82.

[277] Kornilov, 1908, 118.

[278] This idea was proposed later too by Shirinskii-Shikhmatov's successor, Kornilov: I. Kornilov, Remarks on the need to teach the Lithuanian and Žemaitijan languages in Orthodox seminaries in the VED, OR RNB, f. 377, d. 201, l. 1.

[279] Report from the VED overseer to the minister of education, 8 February 1864, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 1174, l. 18.

[280] Note from the VED overseer, 4 May 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 629a, l. 126–127.

[281] This information is contained in the file "Ob uchrezhdenii Ponevezhskoi Direktsii uchilishch i o perevode eia v Kovno s peremeinovaniem v Kovenskuiu," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 4, b. 960.

[282] Lukšienė, 1970, 243; Tyla, 1990, 50; Merkys, 1999, 298–299.

[283] On these projects, there are a number of interesting recent works: Merkys, 1999, 662–670, 676–683; Šenavičienė, 2005, 167–177.

[284] For the correspondence on this matter, see the file "Ob uchrezhdenii v m.[iastechke] Vorniakh Maloi Seminarii, nastoiatel'skikh shkol pri kostelakh po Kovenskoi gubernii i o neobkhodimosti prepodavaniia zhmudskago iazyka v narodnykh shkolakh Kov.[enskoi] gub.[ernii]," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 1615.

[285] Report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 9 May 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 629a, l. 124–127.

[286] Report from the justice of the peace of the second ward in the Vil'komir district of Kovno Gubernia to the VED overseer, 18 June 1864, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 4, b. 978, l. 70.

[287] Instruction from the VED overseer to VED Inspector, N. Novikov, 4 August 1865, KAA, f. 50, ap. 1, b. 16927, l. 21–23; A.[?], "Istoricheskii ocherk narodnykh uchilishch v Kovenskoi gubernii," *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniia*, 1870, June, section IV, 158. In this case it is likely that talk was of granting Lithuanian an auxiliary role rather than making it a separate subject of study.

[288] In May 1864 Kornilov collected data about VED schools and instructed that information be gathered about the religious affiliation of teachers. Other data about teachers was not requested: note from the VED overseer to Grigorii Grigor'evich(?), 12 May 1864, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 4, b. 978, l. 111.

[289] "The education authorities did not approve such proposals because they could not trust Lithuanian peasant children, who had become Polonised completely while studying at grammar school and had witnessed Polish demonstrations and rebellion and sometimes had even taken part in them, and are still under the strong influence of Roman Catholic priests": 1864 account of the "people's schools," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1514, l. 34.

[290] Letter from I. Kornilov to N. Novikov, 21 June 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 4, l. 1.

[291] A.[?], "Istoricheskii ocherk narodnykh uchilishch v Kovenskoi gubernii," *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniia*, 1870, June, section IV, 157; Gorbachik, 1903, 19; Kulakauskas, 1999, 213.

[292] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the VED overseer, 18 June 1864, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 3, b. 1284, l. 1.

[293] For correspondence on this matter, see the files "Ob uchrezhdenii dolzhnosti osobago Okruzhnogo Inspektora dlia zavedyvaniia uchebnoiu chast'iu v Kovenskoi gubernii," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 1664, and "O naznachenii Nikolaia Novikova Okruzhnym inspektorom Vilenskago Uchebnago Okruga," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 3, b. 1284. See also [Kornilov], 1898b, 347.

[294] Account from S. Popov, 28 July 1864, OR RNB, f. 523 d. 263, l. 7; report from S. Popov to the VED overseer, 19 August 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 58, l. 3.

[295] Admittedly, early in 1865 the leader of the gentry in the Shavli District, Vladimir Zel'strem, proposed entrusting primary education to Lithuanian grammar-school pupils, but the VED authorities rejected this on the grounds that such teachers might submit to Polish influence: file "Po zapiske Shavels'kago uezdnago predvoditelia dvorianstva Barona Zel'strema na schet ustroistva narodnykh shkol na Zhmudi," LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1796. Later Potapov campaigned on behalf of this project, which in his view was good because it would help remove clerical influence from primary education: Proposals from the governor general of Vil'na assistant, A. Potapov, 1865, GARF, f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 758a, l. 43–44.

[296] Report from Assistant VED Overseer I. Shul'gin to the VED Overseer, 7 July 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 219, l. 25. This report is strange in so far as Shul'gin says the Orthodox boys were Žemaitijan.

[297] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of education, 8 July 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 629a, l. 129.

[298] After discussing Shul'gin's proposals the VED Overseer's Council decided that it was too expensive to keep the seven boys at Kovno Grammar School and that the Molodechno College could train such teachers: Kornilov's resolution on the report from Assistant VED Overseer, I. Shul'gin to the VED Overseer, 7 July 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 219, l. 25.

[299] Report from N. Novikov to VED Overseer I. Kornilov, 25 August 1864, OR RNB, f. 377, d. 120, l. 12; N. Novikov's report for the last four months of 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 184, l. 44.

[300] Report from D. Kashirin, 15 August 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 263, l. 1.

[301] Report from N. Novikov to VED Overseer I. Kornilov, 25 August 1864, OR RNB, f. 377, d. 120, l. 17.

[302] Report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 4 October 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 629a, l. 219.

[303] Report from D. Kashirin, 15 August 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 263, l. 1; letter from N. Novikov to I. Kornilov, 24 September 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 66, l. 42.

[304] N. Novikov's report for the last four months of 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 184, l. 34, 54.

[305] Novikov's view of the nationality of teachers or other VED employees is illustrated well by a letter from a slightly later period to his superior, Kornilov: "there is a vacant post for an inspector of Shavli Grammar School. I ask only one thing: do not appoint a German or an insipid Russian. The Kovno Guberbnia is a Sevastopol', and Shavli Grammar School is like Malachov's room. May the Russian be twice as bad as the German." Letter from N. Novikov to I. Kornilov, 3–4 September 1865 (Novikov wished to stress that he wrote during the night!), RGIA, f. 970, op. 1, d. 784, l. 5–6.

[306] A.[?], "Istoricheskii ocherk narodnykh uchilishch v Kovenskoi gubernii," *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniia*, 1870, July, section "Sovremennaia letopis'," 45.

[307] General remarks of the VED overseer on the report from "people's schools," 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1697, l. 157–160. Even before the 1863–1864 Uprising, while in post as director of schools in Pinsk, the Kovno director of Schools, I. Shul'gin, had used such arguments to claim that "it is essential that Orthodox candidates be appointed as teachers in Western Russia and Lithuania from spiritual schools, if not from the institutes that are planned to be founded": *Zamechaniia*, 1862, vol. 2, 311.

[308] Copy of report from N. Novikov to the VED overseer, 9 March 1867, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1574, l. 368–369.

[309] Freeze, 1983, 241, 244.

[310] *Zamechaniia*, 1862, vol. 2, 308.

[311] Krumbholz, 1982, 218–221; Alekseeva, 2003, 222–231; Vulpius, 2005b, 68–69.

[312] N. Novikov's report for the last four months of 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 184, l. 34.

[313] General remarks on the 1864 Report on VED people's schools, LVIA, 378, bs, 1865, b. 1697, l. 179.

[314] N. Savel'ev, Report of the Kovno Directorate of People's Schools, 1870, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 1827, l. 262.

[315] Draft of N. Novikov, The File of Teaching Catholic Religion in Žemaitijan, sent to VED Overseer I. Kornilov, 31 October 1866, OR RNB, f. 523, b. 70, l. 4–5.

[316] Report from A. Shaitanov, a teacher in the Vižūnai (Vil'komir District) People's School, to VED Inspector, N. Novikov, 10 March 1865, KAA, f. 293, ap. 1, b. 10, l. 1-2.

[317] Report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 4 October 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 629a, l. 219; report from N. Novikov to the VED overseer, 21 December 1866, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1608, l. 3–6.

[318] Letter from N. Novikov to I. Kornilov, 8 February 1866, RGIA, f. 970, op. 1, d. 784, l. 7–8.

[319] Note from Assistant VED Overseer A. Serno-Solov'evich, to the VED overseer, 11 August 1867; note from the acting director of "people's schools" in Vitebsk to the VED overseer, 3 August 1867, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1709, l. 1, 7.

[320] In other NWP gubernias the authorities funded the foundation of such schools themselves. The decision of officials that peasants themselves should maintain "people's schools" in the Kovno Gubernia was most probably determined by the conviction that the material wellbeing of the Lithuanians was better than that of Belarusians. This is especially to be noted as the authorities lacked funds to set up such schools. When the issue of establishing schools in the Western Province was being discussed in St Petersburg in 1862, the view was taken that at first 420,000 rubles would be required, followed by 350,000 each subsequent year, but in 1862 the Education Ministry gave only 10,000 rubles and made provision for a further 22,045 rubles in 1863: Zasztowt, 1997, 355.

[321] Explanatory note from D. Kashirin, appended to the account of school foundations in 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 263, l. 14; D. Kashirin's account of the foundation of schools in the Rossieny District, received on 29 August 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 266, l. 1–9; D. Kashirin's account of school foundations in the Kovno District, including comments from N. Novikov, received on 29 August 1864, OR RNB, f. 523 b. 264, l. 1–6; A.[?], "Istoricheskii ocherk narodnykh uchilishch v Kovenskoi gubernii," *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniia*, 1870, June, section IV, 159–164.

[322] Report from I. Lobanov, a teacher in the Biržai "People's School," to the Kovno Schools' Directorate, 25 October 1867, KAA, f. 293, ap.1, b. 3, l. 11–12; report from P. Nipolskii, a teacher in the Troškūnai "People's School," to the Kovno Schools' Directorate, 22 February 1866; report from the Inspector of "People's Schools" J. Czechowicz to the director of the Kovno Gubernia Schools' Directorate, 28 September 1868, KAA, f. 293, ap. 1, b. 5, l. 88–89, 28–29.

[323] Copy of S. Popov's report, 28 July 1864, OR RNB, f. 523 b. 263, l. 9.

[324] Report from the S. Popov to the VED overseer, 19 August 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 58, l. 2.

[325] Draft of letter from N. Novikov to I. Kornilov, 11 September 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 66, l. 26.

[326] N. Novikov's report for the last four months of 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 184, l. 12.

[327] Letter from N. Novikov to I. Kornilov, 25 August 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 120, l. 17–18.

[328] However, in one letter to Kornilov he writes about the "grammatical recreation" of Lithuanian: letter from N. Novikov to I. Kornilov, 24 September 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 66, l. 39.

[329] Draft of letter from N. Novikov to I. Kornilov, 11 September 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 66, l. 3. The word language [*iazyk*] was struck out here.

[330] Dolbilov considers that "to Novikov implanting the use of the Russian alphabet even meant a certain standardisation of the Lithuanian language": Dolbilov, 2004b, 128–129; Dolbilov, 2005, 277.

[331] Note from the governor general of Vil'na to the head of the Government Commission for Internal and Religious Affairs, 6 September 1865, Tyla, 1973, 76; note from the acting head of the Supreme Press Administration to the Vil'na Foreign Publications Censor, 15 December 1872, LVIA, f. 1241, ap. 1, b. 18, l. 85.

[332] Report from VED Inspector, N. Novikov, to the VED overseer, March 1867 (no exact date), LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1685, l. 3.

[333] Minutes of the Commission to study the Polish and Žemaitijan books which were being sold in Vilnius, 27 May 1866, LVIA, f. 378, ps, 1865, b. 442 d. 6, l. 282–283.

[334] Letter from N. Novikov to M. Katkov, 10 December 1870, OR RGB, f. 120, k. 22, l. 11–12.

[335] Copy of undated note from the deputy archivist in the Vil'na Central Archive, J. Sproģis, to the VED Chancery, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1492, l. 14.

[336] Letter from J. Sproģis to K. Valdemārs, 16 May 1887, RGIA, f. 970, op. 1, d. 1050, l. 3.

[337] Note from VED Inspector N. Novikov to the VED overseer, March 1867 (no exact date), LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1685, l. 2.

[338] Admittedly, in 1868 the newly-appointed interior minister, Timashev, not only declared that the Russian alphabet suited Lithuanian better than the Latin one, but also as proof he presented the Lithuanian folk songs edited by J. Juška and published by the Academy of Sciences' press in the Russian alphabet. It was alleged that that book could be an example of how books should be published in the future: note from the interior minister to the governor general of Vil'na, 18 April 1868, LVIA, f. 1241, ap. 1, b. 13, l. 16–17. In this publication J. Juška used a considerable number of non-Russian letters. In other words, the minister, or rather the ministry official who drafted this text, would have tolerated a version of Cyrillic, which had been adapted to Lithuanian phonetics. This would allow us to assert that in St Petersburg

this experiment with the alphabet was viewed quite differently, that is, with more concern for Lithuanian needs. Later in the 1880s the Academy of Sciences' librarian, Eduard Vol'ter issued the Orthodox Liturgy of St John Chrysostom in Lithuanian in Cyrillic. However, simply because Vol'ter introduced the letter <j> he received severe criticism from the Orthodox Church. Most probably the reason for the wrath of the Orthodox hierarchy was connected not only with the fact that the letter <j> is from the Latin alphabet but also with the fact that it was invented in mediaeval Catholic monasteries and therefore was obviously "Catholic": Merkys, 1994b, 91; Subačius, 2005a.

[339] Subačius, 2004, 157–173; Subačius, 2005b, 35–41.

[340] A.[?], "Istoricheskii ocherk narodnykh uchilishch v Kovenskoi gubernii," *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniia*, 1870, June, section IV, 171.

[341] Copy of Z. Liatskii's Tract on the adaptation of the Russian alphabet for the Lithuanian language, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 4, b. 4931, l. 7.

[342] Draft of letter from N. Novikov to I. Kornilov, 11 September 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 66, l. 4.

[343] Report from the VED inspector to the VED overseer, 4 October 1868, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 386, l. 62. However, this phrase by Novikov could perhaps be "translated" in a different way, with "Russo" referring to the alphabet and "Lithuanian," to the language itself.

[344] Jēkabsons, 2004, 194.

[345] Letter from J. Sproģis to K. Valdemārs, 16 May 1887, RGIA, f. 970, op. 1, d. 1050, l. 15–16. However, the later "confessions" of those, who took part in this experiment, should be viewed with caution, especially since in this case Sproģis' letter was addressed to one of the leaders of the Latvian National Movement.

[346] Thus Il'minskii sought to bring *inorodtsy* closer to the Russians via use of Cyrillic, while keeping them apart from each other at the same time. To this end he tried to create a separate Cyrillic alphabet for each group of *inorodtsy*: Tuna, 2002, 270.

[347] Note from A. Petkevičius, 20 October 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 629a, l. 261–262.

[348] Report from VED Inspector N. Novikov to the VED overseer, 7 October 1870, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1677, l. 4.

[349] Letter from N. Novikov to M. Katkov, 15 May 1865, OR RGB, f. 120, p. 22, l. 195. In another letter to *Moskovskie vedomosti* from the VED inspector we find similar musings: "we are thinking like this: so far this has been done for the benefit of Russian, namely the secular official alphabet

[*grazhdanka*] has replaced the Polish one for all Lithuanian dialects": letter from N. Novikov to M. Katkov, 24 August 1865, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 500, l. 12.

350 A.[?], "Istoricheskii ocherk narodnykh uchilishch v Kovenskoi gubernii," *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniia*, 1870, July, section "Sovremennaia letopis'," 47, 63.

351 Note from the VED overseer to the director of the Vil'na People's Schools Directorate, 17 June 1864, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 4, b. 954, l. 12.

352 Report from the director of the Vil'na Schools Directorate to the VED overseer, 2 May 1882; report from the VED overseer to the education minister, 11 September 1882, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 26, b. 342, l. 5, 15.

353 Letter from I. Kornilov to V. Kulin, 25 October (year not indicated), f. 970, op. 1, d. 908, l. 138.

354 Merkys, 2005, 11.

355 Merkys, 1994b, 78–79, 84, 90–93; Merkys, 2005, 10–11.

356 1864 Report of the Kovno Directorate of Schools, as drafted by I. Shul'gin, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 3, b. 1295, l. 420–421. Novikov entertained similar thoughts, writing that the NWP authorities sought to "spread Russian not only to [Catholic] churches but everywhere it was necessary to speak, read, write or pray": N. Novikov's article "From Kaunas" addressed to *Moskovskie vedomosti* (1866), OR RNB, f. 523, d. 504, l. We come across similar thoughts in his letter to the editor of this newspaper: letter from N. Novikov to M. Katkov, 24 August 1865, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 500, l. 19.

357 Mulevičius, 2003, 71.

358 It appears that the VED officials really did face opposition on this issue. VED Overseer Kornilov mentions "persons, regarded as experts on this province," who had proposed appointing as teachers Lithuanians, who had completed grammar school studies, enjoyed the confidence of the peasantry and also knew Russian. They had even managed to make their opinions known to Governor General Murav'ev: General remarks on the 1864 Report on VED "people's schools," LVIA, 378, bs, 1865, b. 1697, l. 159–160.

359 Letter from I. Kornilov to N. Novikov, 17 September 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 4, l. 8.

360 Letter from I. Kornilov to N. Novikov, 16 March 1867, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 711, l. 19.

361 "Understanding is not enough; we must be forced to admit and grant open priority to the fact that in this province Orthodoxy is our national force [*narodnaia sila*]": letter from N. Novikov to I. Kornilov, 24 October 1864, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 3, b. 1284, l. 47.

362 Draft of letter from N. Novikov to I. Kornilov, 11 September 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 66, l. 16. Later these thoughts were reflected in the

following publication: N. N. N. [N. Novikov], "Vpechatleniia moskvicha na Zhmudi," *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1866, no. 75.

363 Note from the director of Kovno Schools Directorate to the inspectors of Novo-Aleksandrovsk, Ponevezh, and Vil'komir District Schools, 12 February 1866, KAA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 12, l. 49.

364 N. Novikov's report for the last four months of 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 184, l. 13; letter from N. Novikov to M. Katkov, 24 August 1865, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 500, l. 26.

365 Letter from N. Novikov to M. Katkov, 24 August 1865, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 500, l. 13. As Valančius claims, Novikov was one of the officials, who initiated the conversion of the Dominican church in Kaunas into an Orthodox place of worship: Valančius, 2003, 678.

366 Letter from N. Novikov to M. Katkov, 24 August 1865, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 500, l. 27–28.

367 At that time Valančius was drafting his pastoral letter on "people's schools." Novikov's comments show clearly that the local authorities were forced to take the bishop's authority into account: Katilius, 2002, 323–335.

368 Copy of note from VED Inspector, N. Novikov, to the governor of Kovno, 10 March 1866; copy of report from the governor of Kovno to the governor general of Vil'na, 24 March 1866, and reply from the governor general, 12 May 1866, Lietuvos istorijos instituto Rankraštynas [Manuscript Division of the Lithuanian Institute of History], f. 5, b. 7/140, leaves unnumbered.

369 Copy of S. Popov's report, 28 July 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 263, l. 9.

370 Merkys, 1994b, 55.

371 Šenavičienė, 2005, 247–248.

372 Kaunas, 1996, 668.

373 Text by P. Bessonov on the implementation of peasant reform, the state of religion and education in the NWP and the measures required to prevent a new uprising (a document drafted in 1866, later than April of that year), GARF, f. 109, sekretnyi arkhiv, op. 2, d. 709, l. 2–3.

374 Minutes from the 13 August 1871 meeting of the congress of directors of "people's schools" in the VED, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 3033, l. 70. The director of the Kovno people's schools, Savel'ev, wrote in a similar vein: "many of them appeared and continue to appear unfit for work as teachers, not to mention those who do not feel the slightest vocation for teaching work," Commentary of N. Savel'ev on the projected statutes of the Keidany Teacher Training College, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 414, l. 8.

375 A.[?], "Istoricheskii ocherk narodnykh uchilishch v Kovenskoi gubernii," *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniia*, 1870, June, section IV, 173.

[376] Report from VED Inspector, N. Novikov, to the VED Overseer, 22 March 1867, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1574, l. 365.

[377] Report from Director of the Kovno People's Schools, N. Savel'ev, to the VED overseer, 22 July 1871, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 2917, l. 4–5.

[378] Savel'ev, [n.d.], 17–18; A. [?], "Istoricheskii ocherk narodnykh uchilishch v Kovenskoi gubernii," *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniia*, 1870, July, section "Sovremennaia letopis'," 48; report from the acting director of the Vitebsk School's Directorate to the VED overseer, 3 August 1867, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 6, b. 1709, l. 4–7.

[379] Report from N. Zhukov, a teacher in Pagiriai "People's School" (Vil'komir District), to the VED inspector, 24 May 1865, KAA, f. 293, ap. 1, b. 4, l. 5.

[380] Savel'ev, [n.d.], 18; A.[?], "Istoricheskii ocherk narodnykh uchilishch v Kovenskoi gubernii," *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniia*, 1870, July, section "Sovremennaia letopis'," 48.

[381] Dolbilov, Staliūnas, 2005b, 125.

[382] Note from the VED overseer to VED Inspector N. Novikov, 4 January 1868 with the latter's comments, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 23, b. 89, l. 35.

[383] For the correspondence on this matter, see the file "Ob uchitele Krichinskom," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 4, b. 950.

[384] This information is contained in the files "Ob otmene rasporiazheniia o prebyvanii Pomoshchnika Popechitelia v Vitebske i 3-go Okruzhnogo Inspektora v Kovne i o sosredotochenii mesta prebyvaniia etikh lits v Vil'ne," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 81; and "O peremeshchenii Okruzhnogo Inspektora Vilenskago Uchebnago Okruga, Kol.[lezhskago] Sov. [etnika] Novikova na dolzhnost' Kovenskago Direktora Uchilishch," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 144. At the beginning of 1869 Governor General Potapov received a complaint that Novikov often conflicted with his subordinates and that the latter were discontent: file "So svedeniiami o Dir.[ektore] Koven.[skoi] Gimn.[azii] Novikove pri poseshchenii im uroka Russkoi Slovestnosti v 5 klasse toi zhe gimnazii," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 1501.

[385] Report from the governor general of Vil'na to the tsar, 1870, LVIA, f. 378, ap. 216, b. 328, l. 106–107.

[386] For the correspondence on this matter, see the file "S proektom polozheniia o keidanskoi uchitel'skoi seminarii," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 414. Kėdainiai was chosen as the site of the training college for its geographic convenience and the fact that the college could be housed in the former grammar school building.

[387] Kornilov also thought about the shortage of teacher training colleges in the VED: report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na,

31 March 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1863, b. 873, l. 182–185.

[388] Rozhdestvenskii, 1902, 481–482; Freeze, 1983, 303; Sergeenkova, 2004, 105–107.

[389] Rozhdestvenskii, 1902, 555–556; Krumbholz, 1982, 281.

[390] Extract from the report of the governor general of Vil'na for 1868, 1869, and 1870; note from the minister of education to the VED overseer, 19 June 1871, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 2917, l. 9–10, 1.

[391] Letter of the Director of "People's Schools" in the Kovno Gubernia, N. Savel'ev, to VED Overseer N. Sergievskii, 22 July 1871, with the latter's comments, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 2917, l. 3–8. Understanding that Savel'ev wished to admit local Orthodox candidates to the training college, Sergievskii remarked: "where on earth will he find any of those among the locals? The whole of Žemaitija is either Catholic or Lutheran."

[392] Excerpt from the minute book of the meetings of the Congress of directors of VED people's schools, 13 September 1871, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 2917, l. 13–15.

[393] Letter from I. Kornilov to V. Kulin, 25 October (year not indicated), RGIA, f. 970, op. 1, d. 908, l. 137.

[394] Report from the VED overseer to the minister of education, 27 March 1872, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 2917, l. 42.

[395] Extract from the instruction issued by the 27 June 1872 meeting of the State Council, as approved by the tsar, to found a teacher training college in Panevėžys (Kovno Gubernia), LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1872, b. 1438, l. 21–22.

[396] On Polotsk College, see the file "S bumagami otnosiashchimisia k otkrytiiu uchitel'skoi seminarii v g.[orode] Polotske, Vitebskoi gubernii," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 493. Later another college was founded in Nesvizh in 1875 to train teachers primarily for "people's schools" in the Minsk Gubernia: file "Ob uchrezhdenii osoboi uchitel'skoi seminarii v Minskoi gubernii v g.[orode] Nesvizh," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 4000.

[397] Note from the VED overseer to the education minister, 27 March 1872 and an explanatory note On the establishment of a teacher training college in Panevėžys (Kovno Gubernia), LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 2917, l. 39–44, 45–54.

[398] Announcement of the Opening of Ponevezh Teacher Training College and Entry Conditions, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 2917, l. 65.

[399] Explanatory appendix to the draft statutes of the Molodechno Teacher Training College, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 21, b. 55, l. 120.

[400] Copy of the minutes of the meeting of the Council of the Ponevezh Teacher Training College, 27 November 1872, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 4017, l. 2–3 (noting that "persons of Žemaitijan descent" [*prirodnye zhmudiny*] may study there); S. Borichevskii, Report of the Ponevezh Teacher Training

College, second half of 1872, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 4124, l. 68 (here it is stated that three pupils converted to Orthodoxy before entering the college, and so they had to be taught religion from the very beginning).

401 Note from the deputy education minister to the VED overseer with the latter's comments, 16 September 1872, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 2917, l. 139.

402 Statutes of the Ponevezh Teacher Training College (Kovno Gubernia), LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 2917, l. 141–144 and an additional unnumbered leaf.

403 For the correspondence on this matter, see the file "O vvedenii v Ponevezhskoi uchitel'skoi seminarii obucheniia zhmudskomu iazyku," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 4017. The matter of whether future teachers really did learn Lithuanian is the subject for another study.

404 1874 account of the Ponevezh Teacher Training College, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 6465, l. 89.

405 Kulin, 1900, 46.

406 Some schools were reorganised at a slightly earlier date. At the beginning of 1863 the local authorities rejected a complaint from the Courland Lutheran Consistory over the subjection of two primary schools in the Dinaburg District (Vitebsk Gubernia) to the Schools' Directorate and the appointment of a Russian teacher, who was to teach all subjects apart from religion: note from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 9 March 1867, and latter's reply, 28 March 1867, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 2264, l. 13–14, 26–28.

407 Report from VED Inspector N. Novikov to the VED overseer, 11 September 1864, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 183, l. 13.

408 VED Inspector Novikov's Geographic and ethnographic description of the Kovno Gubernia, sent to the VED overseer, 1867, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 188, l. 1.

409 Report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil'na, 11 October 1864; note from the governor general of Vil'na to the governor of Kovno, 18 October 1864; note from the governor general of Vil'na to the VED overseer, 18 October 1864; circular from the governor general of Vil'na, October 1864 (no exact date), LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 629a, l. 246–247, 248, 249, 250.

410 Letter from N. Novikov to M. Katkov, 24 August 1865, OR RNB, f. 523, d. 500, l. 9.

411 This information is contained in the file "O podchinenii Slutskoi Reformatorskoi gimnazii neposredstvennomu nadzoru uchilishchnago Nachal'stva," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 3, b. 1275. Opinion of the interior minister as expressed in a note from the education minister to the VED overseer, 29 July 1865: LVIA, f. 567, ap. 3, b. 1275, l. 55–56. Kornilov was of a completely

different opinion with regard to members of this denomination: “the local Calvinists, who use Polish during worship and at home and when raising their children, are Poles just as much as the Catholics are”: report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil’na, 22 September 1865, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 3, b. 1275, l. 70.

412 Note from the VED overseer to V. Kulin and N. Novikov, 12 August 1868, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 386, l. 1. The VED overseer ordered a publication based on Kulin’s report to be drafted for the province’s official newspaper, *Vilenskii vestnik*: Comments of the VED overseer on the report from V. Kulin, 26 September 1868, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 386, l. 4. Later the thoughts expressed in the reports of both Kulin and Novikov were published by the said newspaper: “O narodnykh nemetskikh shkolakh v Kovenskoi gubernii,” *Vilenskii vestnik*, 1868, no. 114, 115; “O nemetskikh shkolakh Grodnenskoi gubernii,” ibid., no. 118; “O liuteranskikh shkolakh v Vitebskoi gubernii,” ibid., no. 146.

413 Report from V. Kulin, 26 September 1868, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 386, l. 4–51.

414 Report from N. Novikov, 4 October 1868, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 386, l. 56–67.

415 Draft of report from the VED overseer to the minister of education, 18 November 1868, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 386, l. 126–131.

416 Note from the minister of education to the VED overseer, 1 February 1869; draft of note from the VED overseer to the governors of the NWP and the governor general of Vil’na, 20 February 1869, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 386, l. 134–138, 139–145; Slocum, 1993, 110–113.

417 Report from the director of the Kovno “People’s Schools” Directorate to the VED overseer, 15 May 1869, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 386, l. 175.

418 Report from the VED overseer to the governor general of Vil’na, 14 October 1870, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1870, b. 890, l. 1–2; Brief details of the subjection of Lutheran and Calvinist schools to the Schools’ Directorate and the Provisional Regulations for People’s Schools in the North Western Gubernias (23 March 1863), LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 5913, l. 16–17.

419 Copy of the minutes from the 13 June 1870 VED Overseer’s Council meeting, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1870, b. 890, l. 3–10. The place of languages in “people’s schools” was outlined very clearly: “when allowing the employment of teachers of different ethnic origin the schools’ council is admitting alien tongues [*inoplemennye iazyki*] into Russian people’s schools as separate subjects, while these can be allowed in Russian schools only as temporary languages of instruction, which are tolerated solely because they are necessary for pupils to be able to be taught Russian”: LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1870, b. 890, l. 8.

[420] This information is contained in the files "O vvedenii prepodavaniia v Ucheb.[nykh] zavedeniiakh V.[ilenskogo] U.[uchebnogo] Okr.[uga] Zakona Bozhiia Evangelicheskago ispovedaniia na Russkom iazyke," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 2432; "O podchinenii Evangelichesko-Liuteranskikh i reformatorskikh uchilishch vedeniiu direktsii narodnykh uchilishch," LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 5913. Slocum has also been unable to explain how Protestant religion was taught in state schools in later years: Slocum, 1993, 116.

[421] Miller, 2000, 39.

[422] Schybeka, 2001, 126; Merkys, 1994b, 65; Merkys, 2004b, 29–30.

[423] Tserashkovich, 1992, 656.

[424] Sambuk, 1976, 5; Bich, 1993, 5.

[425] Rodkiewicz, 1998, 212.

[426] See also earlier articles on this topic – Staliūnas, 2003a, 262–292; Staliūnas, 2003b, 157–169.

[427] Note from Metropolitan Iosif of Lithuania to the Lithuanian Orthodox Consistory, 25 January 1840; copy of circular from the Lithuanian Orthodox Consistory, 26 January 1840, LVIA, f. 605, ap. 2, b. 2187, l. 1, 2; Navicki, 1998, 40.

[428] For example, between 1838 and 1846 the former Philomath, Jan Czeczot published collections of Belarusian folk songs and not only translated them into Polish but also published the originals in the Latin alphabet. Admittedly, the collections were targeted at landowners and stewards, who had expressed anxieties about the peasants. Czeczot even called upon local intellectuals to compile dictionaries and grammar books for Belarusian.

[429] Miller, 2000, 65. The first formal ban of this kind came in 1853 after the civil servant, Skrędzewski sent the Censors in St Petersburg his thoughts on the possibility of using Polish characters for the Russian language: Medišauskienė, 1998, 118–119; Remy, 2005, 182–183. This ban was supposed to apply to publications in Belarusian and Ukrainian alike, which were regarded as simply Russian dialects, but most probably because the problem was as yet not politicised, the ban was not applied in practice.

[430] Minutes of the meeting of the Vil'na Censorship Committee for Internal Censorship, 9 July and 7 November 1859, LVIA, f. 1240, ap. 1, b. 145, l. 27–28, 47–48; minutes of the meeting of the Vil'na Censorship Committee for Internal Censorship, 7 March 1860, LVIA, f. 1240, ap. 1, b. 152, l. 9; Kisialeu, 1977, 131–138. It is also interesting that in this case the authorities compensated for losses incurred.

[431] Kisialeu, 1977, 134.

[432] LVIA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 111, l. 6; report from the governor general of Vil'na, 14 February 1862, RGIA, f. 1282, op. 2, d. 334, l. 13–14. See earlier

publications on this topic – Kornilov, 1898a, 164–184; Medišauskienė, 1993, 449–478.

433 Copy of note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of education, 15 June 1862, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 4, b. 915, l. 8

434 Note from P. Shchebal'skii, 1 May 1862, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 640, l. 7.

435 "all those known to the [author of the article], who are interested in this matter and have expressed their readiness to take part in work on the journal have not had, and have not the least thought of publishing a newspaper or journal in the Belarusian dialect, for they regard such an experiment for bringing a provincial dialect up to the level of a literary language to be the result of thinking which has deviated from the right path": Russkii [?], "Iz Vil'na (Pis'mo v redaktsiiu *Moskovskikh vedomostei*)," *Den'*, 1863, no. 40.

436 Note from the minister of education to the governor general of Vil'na, 14 April 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 640, l. 141.

437 Remarks from the Western Committee on the proposed publication in Vilnius of a journal called *Russkoe Chtenie*; report of the governor general of Vil'na to the education minister, 30 November 1864, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 640, l. 87–88, 93–94.

438 Ts'vikevich, 1993, 48.

439 "Ob'iavlenie ot redaktsii *Vestnika Iugo-Zapadnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii*," *Vestnik Zapadnoi Rossii,* 1864, August, year III, vol. 1, 1.

440 *Razskazy,* 1863.

441 Ibid., 21.

442 Report from the VED overseer to the minister of education, 12 April 1863, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 4, b. 890, l. 89.

443 Instruction for the inspection of "people's schools," October 1863, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 629, l. 200.

444 Kornilov, 1898a, 62.

445 General remarks on the 1864 VED "people's schools'" report, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1865, b. 1697, l. 169.

446 Kirkor, 1874, 54.

447 Maichrovich, 1961, 120–121.

448 Opinion of the governor general of Vil'na on anonymous note presented to tsar by the interior minister on 25 February 1862, RGIA, f. 1267, op. 1, d. 11, l. 37.

449 This circular was without logic: it allowed "publication only of works in that language which belong to the realm of belles letters," which did not exist, according to the circular: "there has not been, is not, nor can there be any distinct Little Russian language and their dialect, used by ordinary

people, is the Russian language, which has merely been damaged by Polish influence.”

[450] *Sbornik pamiatnikov*, 1866; Bezsonov, 1871. When going to meet Bessonov, VED Overseer Sergievskii issued a circular, instructing the headmasters of grammar schools and inspectors of junior grammar schools to acquire this book for their libraries. See the file “O rasprostranenii izdaniia P. A. Bezsonova kasaiushchegosia etnografii Severo-zapadnago kraia *Belorusskiia pesni*,” LVIA, f. 567, ap. 5, b. 3032.

[451] Tokt’, 2005, 229.

[452] However, it should be stated at the outset that not everyone discussed this issue, which means that teaching “in the national language” suited certain officials in the VED.

[453] *Zamechaniia*, 1862, vol. 2, 11–12, 61, 85, 117–118, 151, 339–340.

[454] Ibid., 45–46.

[455] Ibid., 449–450, 452, 460.

[456] Ibid., 450.

[457] Ibid., vol. 5, 509.

[458] Ibid., vol. 2, 452–458.

[459] Tal’virskaia, 1967, 27; Medišauskienė, 1990, 43.

[460] V. Zolotov, copy of a tract on village schools in certain districts of the Mogilev Gubernia, 9 January 1864, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 23, b. 67, l. 136.

[461] *Zhurnal*, 1863, 182. This is how the situation in the Vil’na and Grodno Gubernias fifteen years before was described: “at that time local peasants in general understood Russian very badly, but they not only understood Polish well, but even women and children spoke that language properly. The reason for this was as much close relations between the peasants and landowners as the domination of the Polish element through the centuries, as a consequence of which the dialect of ordinary folk took on a multitude of Polish words and, in part, Polish forms too: ibid., 180.

[462] Ibid., 341–343.

[463] [Beletskii], 1901, 44; Kulakauskas, 2000, 92–93.

[464] Rozhdestvenskii, 1902, 466–467; Kulakauskas, 2000, 85.

[465] Conclusion to the VED report for 1861, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 111, l. 6. However, back in September 1861, given the same arguments, he had favoured replacing Polish with Russian: report from the VED overseer to the minister of education, 2 September 1861, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 111, l. 48.

[466] Report from the VED overseer to the minister of education, 14 April 1862, Kornilov, 1908, 20.

[467] Copy of report from the VED overseer to the minister of education, 9 November 1862, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 629, l. 40.

[468] Circular on the administration of VED "people's schools" no. 1, 12 January 1863, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 4, b. 886, l. 52.

[469] Note from the VED overseer, 14 February 1863, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 629, l. 181; report from the VED overseer to the minister of education, 12 April 1863, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 21, b. 15, l. 21–22.

[470] Draft of note from the governor general of Vil'na to the minister of education, 1 February 1863, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 629, l. 84, 92–93.

[471] RGIA, f. 733, op. 62, d. 1483, l.163; Kulakauskas, 2000, 99. This draft also permitted Lithuanian (or Žemaitijan) to be a separate subject of study.

[472] Kulakauskas, 2000, 81–100; Ershova, 2004, 118–121.

[473] "Moskva, 22 iiunia," *Den'*, 1863, no. 25; Beloruss [?], "Iz Grodnenskoi gubernii," ibid. On the other hand, for example, *Vestnik Iugo-Zapadnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii* was a zealous opponent of allowing Belarusian into primary education. This journal was prepared to tolerate Belarusian "jargon" only for the explanation of Russian words, which children did not understand, as was instructed by the VED overseer, but no more: "learning in the Belarusian jargon is nonsense, which, thank God, has not occurred to a single Belarusian": "Instruktsiia narodnym uchiteliam," *Vestnik Iugo-zapadnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii,* year I,1863, February, vol. 3, section IV, 239.

[474] Note from the minister of state property to the minister of education, 6 February 1863, RGIA, f. 733, op. 62, d. 1483, l. 77.

[475] Sel'vestrova, 1997, 138.

[476] Mal'dis, 1977, 320.

[477] The use of Belarusian for religious instruction is mentioned, for example, in the 1864 Report of the administration of the Mogilev Schools' Directorate, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 1, b. 1295, l. 502.

[478] Copy of the instruction for inspecting "people's schools," October 1863, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1862, b. 629, l. 200.

[479] General remarks on village schools in the Vitebsk Gubernia, 1864, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 23, b. 67, l. 41. In the Report of the VED Administration for 1864 Kornilov also acknowledged a special need: "in schools built in areas with a Belarusian population teachers use the Russian language to give explanations to their class and when conversing with their pupils, resort to the Belarusian dialect only seldom and only in relations with new pupils": Kornilov, 1898a, 61.

[480] Undated report from A. Storozhenko, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1864, b. 1343, l. 1; Goncharuk, 2000, 190–191. In 1849 when questioned by the governor general of Vil'na's official in charge of special affairs with regard to historical statistics, Kukolnik, the Catholic clergy, mainly from the Minsk and Grodno Gubernias, presented various statistics and historical and ethnographic data.

In most of the parishes described peasants went to confession in Belarusian (which was referred to in various ways: “the Krivich dialect or simple language,” “a language close to Russian,” “simple language” and so on): LVIA, f. 694, ap. 1, b. 1916, l. 30, 33, 34, 45–46, 63, 75, 77, 79, 83, 85, 87, 89, 93, 98, 100, 104, 106.

481 Report from the VED overseer to the minister of education, 12 April, 1863, LVIA, f. 567, ap. 21, b. 15, l. 22.

482 Note from the interior minister to the governor general of Vil’na, 2 November 1865, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1360, l. 72. See also Chapter Five.

483 Opinions of the Orthodox bishops, LVIA, f. 378, bs, 1866, b. 1360, l. 93–106; Milovidov, 1910, 17–18.

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